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SKETCHES

OF

HISTORY, LIFE, AND MANNERS

IN THE

WEST;

CONTAINING ACCURATE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE COUNTRY AND MODES OF LIFE, IN THE WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JAMES HALL.

VOLUME I.

CINCINNATI:
HUBBARD AND EDMANDS.
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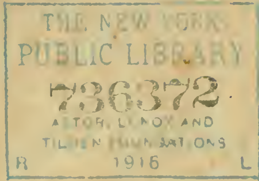
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PREFACE.

When the following work was commenced, it was intended to have been comprised within one volume, and to have contained only such facts and statistics, as might be considered interesting in reference to the present condition of this country. Such, however, is the intimate connection between the institutions of a country, and its history, and so difficult is it to explain the character of that which exists, without reference to something which has preceded it, that we found it impossible to avoid mingling historical details, with the statements which it was our main purpose to have presented. On further reflection, it was determined to extend the plan, so as to embrace two volumes; one of which should be devoted exclusively to historical matter, and the other, to descriptive and statistical information.

It has not been the object of the writer, to attempt a regular history of this region, or any connected description of the country, or its institutions. The materials for such a work are not in existence; no

complete collection of political or statistical facts, or scientific observations, has yet been made, from which such a work could be compiled. Ignorant and presumptuous travelers have published their own hasty and inaccurate conceptions; and careless writers have selected from these, such supposed facts, as comported with their gratuitous theories, or notions of probability; and we hesitate not to say, that the works which have professed to treat of the whole western region, have been failures. Particular departments of this great subject, have been well treated. Dr. Drake's admirable description of the Miami valley, entitled "A Picture of Cincinnati," is written in the calm spirit of philosophical inquiry, and is worthy of entire confidence. The travels of Pike, Lewis and Clarke, and Long, are replete with valuable facts, carefully collected, and reported with scrupulous fidelity. The statistics embraced in Darby's "Views of the the United States," and Brackenridge's "Louisiana," may be safely relied upon. But these works embrace but a small portion of the whole ground. The best compilation from these and other authorities, and the only one which may be consulted with safety, is Tanner's "Guide to Emigrants," a volume prepared with great care and fidelity. When the materials shall be accumulated—when the loose facts and scattered reminiscen-

ces, which are now floating along the stream of tradition, shall be gathered together, then may such a work be prepared, as will be creditable to our country. Until then, we can only aim at presenting to the public, such fragments of history as may be rescued from oblivion by individuals; and such observations, as the few, who are curious in collecting the statistics of their own times, may be able to accumulate.

In the following volumes, therefore, nothing further is attempted, than a collection of facts; many of which are the result of the writer's own observation. These are not presented in any connected series, nor with any embellishment of style; but are placed before the reader, under the most unambitious form, consistent with convenience of arrangement, and propriety of expression. This is not said to disarm criticism; an author has no right to interpose himself between the critic and his duty, either to secure his clemency, or resent his decision; but simply to explain to the reader, the unpretending character of these volumes, in order that their appearance may not awaken expectations, which they are not calculated to satisfy.

SKETCHES

OF

HISTORY, LIFE, AND MANNERS

IN THE WEST.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

But few of the writers who have treated of the western country, rank above mediocrity; and little of all that has been written on this subject is interesting or true. Books we have had in abundance; travels, gazetteers, and geographies inundate the land; but few of them are distinguished by literary merit or accurate information. Perhaps a reason for this is to be found in the character of the country. The subjects of interest in a land which has long been inhabited by a civilized people, are such as are familiar to the student, and in traveling through such a region, he treads on classic ground with a knowledge of all the localities. He knows the points of attraction, and having reached them is learned in their history. If in Italy, he hastens to Rome; if in the Mediterra-

nean, to Naples, Vesuvius, and the ruins of Carthage; if in Greece, to Athens; if in Palestine, to the Holy Sepulchre. Whether in Europe or in Asia, he finds, at every step, some object to awaken classic recollections, and expatiates on a field already familiar to his imagination. In collecting information, he but fills an outline, previously sketched out in the seclusion of his closet, and the design itself is but a copy; for such narratives exhibit, in general, the same pictures, colored by different hands, each correcting the faults, and improving on the failures, of the other. The accomplished writer, in short, who treats of the countries to which we have alluded, must be familiar with their history, their antiquities, their arts, their literature, their every thing which has been open to the observation of the hundreds and thousands who have preceded him, and, if not altogether devoid of genius, he cannot fail to throw some new light upon subjects, which, however hacknied, are always interesting, and to which every day brings some change, as each year gives moss to the rock, and ivy to the ruin.

All this is different in the west. The traveler, who launches his bark upon the silver wave of the Ohio, leaves behind him every object which has been consecrated by the pen of genius. He beholds the beauties of nature in rich luxuriance, but he sees no work of art which has existed beyond the memory of man, except a few faint and shapeless traces of a former race, whose name and character are beyond the reach even of conjecture. Every creation of human skill which he beholds, is the work of his cotemporaries. All is new. The fertile soil abounds in vegetation.

The forest is bright, and rich, and luxuriant, as it came from the hands of the Creator. The hundred rivers, that bear the treasures of western industry to the ocean, present grand and imposing spectacles to the eye, while they fill the mind with visions of the future wealth and greatness of the lands through which they roll. But they are nameless to the poet and historian; neither song nor chivalry has consecrated their shores. The inhabitants are all emigrants from other countries; they have no ruins, no traditions, nothing romantic or incredible, with which to regale the traveler's ear. They can tell of their own weary pilgrimage from the land of their fathers —of exploits performed with the rifle and the axe— of solitary days and fearful nights spent in the wilderness—of sorrow, and sickness, and privation, when none was near to help them—and of competence and comfort, gained by years of toil and suffering. Scenes and objects of interest occur at every step, but they are of a character entirely new. All that the traveler tells must be learned upon the spot. The subjects are such as appeal to the judgment, and require the deliberate exercise of a cool and discriminating mind. The author has not now to examine the conflicting or conforming opinions of others, but to form a decision for himself upon matters which have not previously been investigated. He must describe a new country, with its various features and productions—a new people, with novel laws, habits, and institutions. He is not now in Italy or France, surrounded by the illustrious dead, and scarcely less illustrious living, where the canvas glows, and the

marble speaks, where every grove shadows the tomb of a martyr, a hero, or a poet; and where every scene awakens a familiar image or a poetic thought. A vast but silent scene surrounds him. No object speaks to his classic recollections. The face of the country, its climate, productions, and industry, must be described, and, to do this, he must dwell long and examine patiently. Books he will find, it is true, but they are the hasty productions of incompetent writers, whose opinions are generally wrong, and whose observations are confined to a few subjects of minor interest.

To acquire an adequate knowledge of such a country, requires extensive personal observation. It is necessary to examine things instead of books, to travel over this wide region, to become acquainted with the people, to learn their history from tradition, and to become informed as to their manners and modes of thinking, by associating with them in the familiar intercourse of business and domestic life. There is no other mode of collecting facts in relation to a country whose history has never been written, and with regard to which no accurate printed statistics, embracing the whole region, are in existence.

Yet the country affords ample materials. In the historical department a wide and various field is opened. The history of the western country has never been barren of incident. The valley of the Mississippi has been the theatre of hardy exploit, and curious adventure, throughout the whole period of our national existence, and its fertile plains present at this time a wide field of speculation. To whatever

point in the annals of this immense region we turn, we find them fraught with strange, and novel, and instructive matter. If we trace the solitary path of the fearless Boone; if we pursue the steps of Shelby, of Logan, and of Scott, we find them beset with dangers so terrible, adventures so wild, and achievements so wonderful, as to startle credulity, and we encounter tastes, and habits, and sentiments, peculiar to our own frontier. In the disastrous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair, and the brilliant successes of Clarke and Wayne, there is a sufficiency of those vicissitudes which enliven the narratives of military daring, while a host of lesser worthies present respectable claims to our applause. "Grim visag'd war" has so recently "smooth'd his wrinkled front," in this vast territory, that thousands of living witnesses remain to show their scars and attest its dangers. The time is within memory when every dwelling was a fortress, when to fight "*pro aris et focis*"—for our hearths and altars—was not merely the poet's figure, but the literal and constant business of a whole people, when every father defended his own threshold, and even mothers imbrued their hands in blood to protect their offspring.

Few of these events will live in history. They formed no part of any national war, either for independence or for conquest; they neither accelerated nor retarded our march to national greatness; they brought no blot, and added but little fame to the national escutcheon. They are preserved chiefly in tradition, and will form a rich vein of romantic adventure for the future novelist and poet. But, although the historian of our common republic may not

record them, they should find an honorable place in the annals of the respective states. They belong to them and to their history.

The shores of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, present to the world a singular and most enchanting picture — one which future ages will contemplate with wonder and delight. The celerity with which the soil has been peopled, and the harmony which has prevailed in the erection of the governments, have no parallel in history, and seem to be the effect of magic, rather than of human agency. Europe was at one time overrun by numerous hordes, who, rushing like a torrent from the north, in search of a more genial climate, captured or expelled the effeminate inhabitants of the south, and planted colonies in its richest provinces; but these were savages, who conquered with the sword, and ruled with the rod of iron. The "arm of flesh" was visible in all their operations. Their colonies, like ours, were formed by emigration; the soil was peopled with an exotic population; but here the parallel ends. The country, gained by violence, was held by force; the blood-stained soil produced nothing but "man and steel, the soldier and his sword."

What a contrast does our happy country present to scenes like these! It remained for us to exhibit to the world the novel spectacle of a people coming from various nations, and differing in language, politics, and religion, sitting down quietly together, erecting states, forming constitutions, and enacting laws without bloodshed or dissension. Never was there

an experiment of greater moral beauty, or more harmonious operation.

Within a few years past, there has been much curiosity awakened in the minds of the American people, in relation to the recent history, and present state of their country. The struggle for independence, so brilliant in its achievements, so important in its results, so gratifying to national pride in all its details, long absorbed the sympathies, and occupied the thoughts of our countrymen. From that period they drew their brightest recollections; to that period they referred for all their examples of national virtue. There was a classic purity and heroism in the achievements of our gallant ancestors which hallowed their deeds—but there were also substantial comforts and privileges secured to us by these disinterested patriots, which called forth all our gratitude, and in some measure blunted our perceptions of more recent and cotemporary events. With the recollections of Bunker's Hill and Brandywine before him, what American exulted in the trophies of an Indian war? What political transaction could awaken the admiration of those who had witnessed the fearful energies which gave existence to a nation? What hero or statesman could hope to win the applause of a people whose hearts dwelt with reverence upon the exalted standards of civil and military greatness exhibited in the founders of the American republic? Those luminaries, while they shed an unfading lustre on their country, cast a shadow over succeeding events and rising men; but their mantles silently fell upon the shoulders of their successors, who, with unpretending assiduity, pursued

the course which was to consummate the glory of the nation.

The excitement caused by those splendid national events has passed away, and they are now contemplated with calmness, though still with admiration. Other incidents have occurred in our history, sufficiently striking to attract attention. Of these the settlement and growth of the country lying west of the Alleghany mountains, are among the most important, and those which, perhaps, are destined to affect, more materially than any other, the national character, institutions, and prosperity.

But a few years have elapsed since the fertile regions watered by the beautiful Ohio, began to allure the footsteps of our countrymen across the Alleghany mountains. Covered with boundless forests, and protected by Alpine barriers, terrific to the eye, and almost inaccessible to the most adventurous foot, this lovely country remained not only uninhabited, but wholly unexplored, until Boone and his associates resolved to people and subdue it. The dangers and inquietude of a border life presented no obstacles to the adventurous spirit of the first settlers; nor were those hardships altogether new to those who thus voluntarily sought them. They were generally men inured to danger, or whose immediate predecessors had been, what they now became, warriors and hunters.

The revolutionary war, which had just terminated with infinite glory to the American arms, had infused a military spirit into the whole nation, besides affording to all whose bosoms glowed with the love of lib-

erty, or swelled with the aspirations of ambition, opportunities of acting a part, however trivial, in the bloody but interesting drama. With the return of peace, when our citizens resumed their domestic avocations, cheerfully abandoning the arms they had reluctantly assumed, the inhabitants of the western frontiers alone formed an exception to the general tranquillity. Here the tomahawk was still bathed in gore; the husbandman reaped his harvest in the garb of the soldier, and often forsook his plough to mingle in the tumult of the battle, or enjoy the dangerous vicissitudes of the chase.

Of these hardy woodsmen or their immediate descendants, was composed that gallant band of pioneers, who first peopled the shores of the Ohio; men whose infant slumbers had been lulled by the midnight howl of the panther, and to whose ears the war-whoop of the Indian was as familiar as the baying of the faithful watch-dog. To such men *home* has no indissoluble tie, if that word be employed in its usual sense, as referring to local attachments, or implying any of those associations by which the heart is bound to a spot endeared by fond recollections. The dwelling-place of the woodsman is a frail cabin, erected for temporary shelter, and abandoned upon the lightest cause. His *home* is in the bosom of his family, who follow his erratic footsteps, as careless of danger, and as patient under privation as himself.

With these men were mingled a few others, whose character ranked higher in the scale of civilization, and who gave a tone to the manners of the new settlements, while they furnished the people with lead-

ers in their military, as well as their civil affairs. Several revolutionary officers of gallant name—many promising young men, seeking, with the eagerness of youthful ambition, for scenes of enterprise more active than the quiet prosperity of their own homes afforded—and substantial farmers from the vicinity of the frontiers, who to the hardihood and experience of the woodsman, added the industry and thrift of rural pursuits—such were the men who laid low the forest, expelled the ferocious Indian, and the prowling beast of prey, and possessed themselves of a country of vast extent and boundless fertility.

They came in a manner peculiar to themselves; like men fond of danger, and fearless of consequences. Instead of settling in the vicinity of each other, insuring to themselves society and protection by presenting the front of a solid phalanx to the foe, they dispersed themselves over the whole land in small companies, selecting the most fertile spots without reference to the locality of others. The tide of emigration, as it is often called, came not like the swelling billows of the ocean, overwhelming all the land with one vast torrent, but like the gradual overflowing of a great river, whose waters at first escape the general mass in small streams, which, breaking over the banks, glide through the neighboring country by numberless little channels, and forming diminutive pools, swell and unite, until the whole surface is inundated. So came the pioneers. Depending more upon their valor than their numbers, these little communities maintained themselves in the wilderness, where the Indian still claimed dominion, and the wolf

lurked in every thicket. Between the settlements were extensive tracts, as desert, as blooming, and as wild, as hunter could wish or poet could imagine.

So long as the frontier was subject to the hostile irruptions of the Indians, the first care of every little colony was to provide for its defence. This was, in general, effected by the erection of a rude fortress, constructed of such materials as the forest afforded, and in whose design no art was displayed, beyond that which the native ingenuity of the forester supplied. A block-house was built of logs, surrounded by a palisade, or picket work, composed of long stakes driven into the ground, forming an inclosure sufficiently large to contain the people of the settlement, and affording a sufficient protection against the sudden irruptions of savage warfare. This was a temporary refuge for all in time of danger; but it was also the permanent residence of a single family, usually that of the man whose superior skill, courage, or opulence, constituted him, for the time being, a sort of chieftain in this little tribe. For, as in all societies there are master spirits who acquire an influence over their fellow men, there was always, in a frontier settlement, some individual who led the rest to battle, and who, by his address or wisdom in other matters, came into quiet possession of many of the duties and powers of a civil magistrate. There remain traditions of able stratagem, and daring self-devotion, on the part of such men, which may be proudly compared with the best exploits of Rome or Greece. When one of these primitive fortifications formed the rallying point of a numerous population, or was placed at an important

point, it was called a "fort;" but in other cases they were known by the less dignified title of "station." Of the latter, there were many which afforded protection only to single families, who had boldly disconnected themselves from society, either for the purpose of acquiring possession, by occupancy, of choice tracts of land, or to gain a scanty emolument by supplying the wants of the chance travelers, who occasionally penetrated into these wilds, and who accomplished their journeys to the most distant settlements, as a general penetrates to the capital of an enemy, by advancing from post to post.

Such was the general character of the first settlers who followed the adventurous footsteps of Boone; and whose exploits were not confined to the forests of Kentucky. From the shores of the Ohio, the hardy pioneers moved forward to those of the Wabash, and from the Wabash to the Mississippi, subduing the whole country, and preserving in Illinois and Missouri the same bold outlines of character which they first exhibited in Kentucky.

If we trace the history of this country, still further back into the remote periods of its discovery and earliest occupation of European adventurers, a fund of interesting, though somewhat unconnected information, is presented. We are favorably impressed with its features and character, by the manner in which the first travelers invariably speak of its fertility and beauty. The Spaniards, who discovered the southern coast, called it *Florida*, or the land of flowers; the French, who first navigated the Ohio, named it the *Beautiful river*, and La Salle, when he beheld the

shores of the Illinois, pronounced them a terrestial paradise. The imaginations of those adventurous spirits warmed into a poetic fire, as they roamed over the extensive plains of the west, reposed in its delightful groves, or glided with hourly increasing wonder along those liquid highways, which have since become the channels of a commerce as mighty in its extent as it has been rapid in its growth.

The French were the first allies and earliest friends of our nation; and of all the emigrants from foreign countries, they most cheerfully submit to our laws, and most readily adopt our manners and language. They engraft themselves on our stock, and take a deep root in our affections. It is more than a century since a colony of that nation settled at Kaskaskia, a thousand miles from the ocean, a thousand miles from any community of civilized men. Here they flourished for many years, increasing in wealth and population, cultivating the most amicable relations with the Indian tribes, and enjoying a more than ordinary portion of health, prosperity, and peace. Living so long in a situation thus insulated, and having but little commerce with the civilized world, they imbibed many peculiar customs and traits of character, to which their descendants still adhere with singular tenacity. They preserved the gayety, the content, the hospitality of their nation—but their houses, their language, their agriculture, their trade, and their amusements, are all singularly impressed with characteristic marks of their estranged position, and point them out as a peculiar people. As they were not a literary race, they have left few records behind them,

but many valuable traditions, fraught with curious matter, are extant among their descendants, which ought to be preserved.

The Indians still linger on our borders, and sometimes pass through the settled parts of our country, the squallid and miserable remains of a once warlike population. Can it be that they have not degenerated? Is it possible that these wretched beings exhibit fair specimens of savage men? If they have indeed fallen from a better estate, it should be our task to rescue from oblivion the memory of their former virtues. Our immediate predecessors saw them in their untamed state, in the vigor of their power and the pride of their independence. Many of these have left behind them testimonials of what they saw, and a few who properly belong to a departed generation, yet linger on the confines of existence, as if destined to instruct the present generation, by their knowledge of the past.

Passing down to periods still more remote, a boundless field of inquiry is presented to our attention. The inexhaustible fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the various and amazing resources of our country, evince its capacity to support a dense population. Such a country was not made in vain, nor can it be believed that it was intended by a wise Creator, as the residence of savages and beasts of prey. That it once sustained a numerous population, may be inferred from indications which admit of little doubt; that the character of that population was superior to that of the present race of Indians, has been suspected upon evidence, which, though far from being conclusive, is worthy of great consideration.

CHAPTER II.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

The French, who first explored the beautiful shores of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, believed they had found a terrestrial paradise. Delighted with this extensive and fertile region, they roamed far and wide over its boundless prairies, and pushed their little barks into every navigable stream. Their inoffensive manners procured them every where a favorable reception; their cheerfulness and suavity conciliated even the savage warrior, whose suspicious nature discovered no cause of alarm in the visits of these gay strangers. Divided into small parties, having each a separate object, they pursued their several designs without concert, and with little collision. One sought wealth, and another fame; one came to discover a country, another to collect rare and nondescript specimens of natural curiosities; one traveled to see man in a state of nature, another brought the gospel to the heathen; while the greater number roved carelessly among those interesting scenes, indulging their curiosity and their love of adventure, and seeking no higher gratification than that which the novelty and excitement of the present moment afforded.

The adventurers of no other nation have ever penetrated so far, or so fearlessly, into the interior of a newly discovered country. The fathers of New England were circumscribed to narrow boundaries, on the sterile shores of the Atlantic; the first settlers

of Virginia were equally unfortunate. The gallant Raleigh barely effected a landing for his colony, on the shores of North Carolina; even the indefatigable William Penn, several years after the settlement of Pennsylvania, speaks of the Delaware as a "glorious river;" but is wholly unacquainted with its extent and character. The unsuccessful attempts of British travelers, stimulated by the highest rewards of ambition and avarice, to penetrate the continent of Africa, are well known. The Spaniards penetrated South America, only by force of arms. We read, therefore, with a surprise bordering on incredulity, of the adventurous voyages of the French. Small parties, and even single individuals, explored the shores of the St. Lawrence, and its mighty chain of tributary lakes, inhabited by the most savage of the Indian tribes. While the whole American continent was yet a wilderness, and it was an unsettled point among christian nations, to whom the honor of its conquest should belong, the French priests ascended the Mississippi, from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of three thousand miles, and explored the Arkansas, the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, and other large tributaries. Not only did they pass with impunity, but were received with hospitality, and entertained with marks of distinguished respect; the fat hump of the buffalo was dressed for them; and troops of beautiful Indian girls stood around them, waving the golden plumes of the paroquet over their heads, to keep the uncivilized musquitoes from biting them as they slept.

It is difficult, at this day, to determine to whom

should be awarded the honor of having discovered this country. That the materials for an accurate history of its first exploration and settlement, are in existence, we are well aware; and there is reason to believe, that, in addition to what is already known, there is a vast deal of documentary evidence remaining unpublished, or inaccessible to the English reader. The missionaries, who were always men of some literary acquirement, and often possessed considerable learning, accompanied the first French explorers. So far as their characters can now be ascertained, they seem to have been amiable and zealous men, earnestly bent on spreading the doctrines of the cross. Unlike the Spanish priests, who were avaricious and blood-thirsty, and who were always foremost in subjugating or destroying the Indians, we find them invariably conciliating the natives, and endeavoring to allure them to the arts of peace. The only departure from this policy, on their part, is found in the practice, which they doubtless sanctioned, and which was pursued by both French and English, of arming the savages in the colonial wars.

The French missionaries, therefore, wrote with less prejudice than most of the early adventurers to America; and their accounts of the country are the result of accurate personal observation. They had fewer insults to resent than others; and their statements are more candid, because, in general, they were intended only for the perusal of their superiors. True, their writings are imbued with exaggerations. Ardent in their temperament, and deeply tinctured with the superstition which at that time pervaded

Christendom, they hastily adopted the marvelous tales of the natives, and have transmitted some curious fictions to posterity. But all history is liable to the same objection; and the writings of the persons to whom we allude, being now the only records of the early settlement of our country, are as valuable as they are interesting. Some of them have been published, but, doubtless, there yet remain in the public depositories of France, and in the monastic institutions of this country, a mass of reports and letters, in manuscript, which might shed additional light on this portion of our national history. For the present, we must content ourselves with the few but precious morsels of this ancient lore, which have been rescued from oblivion. But we hope that the day is not far distant, when those who rule our nation, instead of spending month after month, and million after million, in the discussion of worse than useless questions, tending only to the gratification of personal ambition, will consult the true honor of the country, by expending a portion of its treasure in the development of its history and moral resources. Whenever that time shall arrive, we hope to see an effort made for the recovery of these invaluable memorials of a past age. There is one distinguished individual in the national cabinet, whose pen has been successfully employed on these subjects, to whose researches into Indian and French colonial history, the national literature is largely indebted, and from whose influence, should it be equal to his zeal and merits, we may expect much.

We shall not trace the adventurous footsteps of

Jacques Cartier, the first European explorer of Lower Canada, who ascended the St. Lawrence to the island of Montreal, in the year 1535, nearly three centuries ago. Nor shall we attempt to follow the heroic Champlain, who planted and sustained, on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the infant colony which was destined to people that extensive region. But a few years elapsed, after the French had gained a foothold upon the continent, before we find them pushing their discoveries towards the mcst remote tributaries of the St. Lawrence. The Indian birch canoe, which they adopted, and in the management of which they soon acquired unrivalled skill, afforded remarkable facilities for these long and painful journies; for these little vessels combine so remarkably the properties of strength and lightness, that while they are capable of transporting heavy burthens, and of making long and dangerous voyages, they can, when unladen, be carried with ease upon the shoulders of men. They are propelled by oars, through the water, with astonishing swiftness, and when the stream is impeded by any impassable obstacle, they are unloaded, carried over land to the nearest navigable point, and again launched in their element. The principal trade of Canada was carried on in these frail boats for two centuries; and it is interesting to observe, in an invention so simple, and so apparently insignificant, an illustration of the important aid which may be afforded by the mechanical arts, to political and moral power. The birch canoe was to the French, not only what the steamboat is to us, enabling them to navigate the lakes and rivers of Canada, and to ascend

the Mississippi, and all its tributaries, but it also afforded the means of surmounting the most dangerous rapids; of passing from river to river; of penetrating into the bosom of trackless forests; and of striking into the recesses of inhospitable mountains. It was this simple boat which afforded to the French the means of traversing this vast region, securing its trade, cultivating the friendship of its inhabitants, and gaining a power, which, if ably wielded, must have permanently subjected the whole of this country to their language, their customs, their religion, and, perhaps, to their dominion.

In the year 1632, seven years only after Quebec was founded, the missionaries had penetrated as far west as Lake Huron. The Wyandots and Iroquois were at that time engaged in an exterminating war, and the priests, following their converts through good and evil fortune, and tenaciously adhering to the altars which they had reared by perilous exertion in the wilderness, shared all the privations and dangers which usually attend these border feuds.

In their intercourse with the Indians on the shores of the northern lakes, the French became informed of the existence of a river flowing to the south, and desired to ascertain its character. Father Marquette, a priest, and Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, were employed to prosecute this discovery; and having ascended Fox river, crossed the portage, and descended the Ouisconsin, entered the Mississippi on the 17th June, 1673. They pursued the meanders of the river to its confluence with the Arkansas, and on

their return, ascended the Illinois, and re-entered Lake Michigan at Chicago.

La Salle, a man of talents, courage, and experience, determined to complete, if possible, a discovery so important to the interests of the French government, and embarked in the prosecution of this undertaking in 1679. He built the first vessel, larger than a canoe, that ever navigated these lakes. It was launched at Erie, and called the Griffin.

"He reached Michilimackinac, where he left his vessel, and coasted lake Michigan in canoes, to the mouth of the St. Joseph. The Griffin was despatched to Green Bay, for a cargo of furs, but she was never more heard of, after leaving that place. Whether she was wrecked, or captured and destroyed by the Indians, no one knew at that day, and none can now tell. La Salle prosecuted his design with great vigor, amid the most discouraging circumstances. By the abilities he displayed; by the successful result of his undertaking; and by the melancholy catastrophe which terminated his own career, he is well worthy a place among that band of intrepid adventurers, who, commencing with Columbus, and terminating with Parry and Franklin, have devoted themselves with noble ardor, to the extension of geographical knowledge, and have laid open the recesses of this continent."*

We have met with an old volume, containing an account of La Salle's second voyage into North America, in 1683, written in French, "by Monsieur Jontel, a commander in that expedition." They

* Cass's Address.

landed at the mouth of the Mississippi, and ascended that river. Of the Wabash, he says, "We came to the mouth of a river called the Houabache, said to come from the country of the Iroquois, towards New England." * * * * "A fine river; its water remarkably clear, and current gentle." The expression, "towards New England," shows how inadequate an idea they had of the extent of our country.

On reaching the Illinois, he remarks, "We found a great alteration in that river, as well with respect to its current, which is very gentle, as to the country about it, which is more agreeable and beautiful than that about the Great river, by reason of the many fine woods, and variety of fruits, its banks are adorned with. It was a very great relief to us, to find so much ease in going up that river, by reason of its gentle stream, so that we all stayed in the canoe, and made much more way."

Meeting with some of the natives, he remarks, "We asked them what nation they were of; they answered, they were *Islinois*, of a canton called Cascasquia." This account settles the question sometimes propounded, as to the origin of the name of this country, which some have supposed to be of French origin, and to be derived from the words *Isle aux noix*, but which is undoubtedly aboriginal, although the orthography may be Gallic. The tribe alluded to were called the *Illini*.

Another passage shows, that the Indians of those days were very similar to their descendants; and, that, however the savage character may have become deteriorated in some respects, by intercourse

with the whites, it is essentially the same under all circumstances. "They are subject," says our author, "to the general vice of all other Indians, which is, to boast very much of their warlike exploits, and that is the main subject of their discourse, and they *are very great liars*."

The map attached to this book, is quite a curiosity —it is so crude, and so admirable a specimen of the rude state of the arts at the time when it was made. It is such as an Indian would trace in the sand with his finger, or the biggest boy in a school would draw on the black-board.

Shortly after the country had been thus explored, it was settled by colonies from Lower Canada, who founded the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria. The exact date of this emigration is not known, but it was probably between the years 1680 and 1690.

In 1712, Louis XIV, by letters patent, granted to Anthony Crozat, counsellor of state, &c. and his heirs, in perpetuity, all the mines within the tract of country then called Louisiana, and described in these words: "Bounded by New Mexico on the west, and by lands of the English of Carolina on the east, including all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally, the port and haven of the isles of Dauphin, heretofore called Massacre; the river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called Ouabache; with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the

river of St. Louis." This included all the territory now comprised in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. The exclusive privilege of commerce was granted to him in the same district, for fifteen years.

In 1717, M. Crozat relinquished his grant; and in the same year, letters patent were granted to an association of individuals at Paris, under the style of the "Company of the West;" by which they were invested with the same privileges which had been enjoyed by Crozat, together with others, far more extensive. The territory was granted to them in *allodium* (*en france allieu*) in lordship and in justice, the crown reserving no other right than those of fealty and homage.

In 1718, the Company of the West formed an establishment in Illinois, at Fort Chartres; and this part of the country being reported as remarkably fertile, received a great accession of population.

In 1719, Philip Francis Renault, who is styled *Director General of the Mines of the Royal India Company in Illinois*, left France with two hundred artificers, and sometime in the following year, reached Kaskaskia. He established himself near Fort Chartres, at a place called by him St. Philippe, and since called Little Village. Renault was disappointed in his expectations of finding gold and silver, but is supposed to have made great quantities of lead, and to have discovered a copper mine near Peoria. His operations were checked by an edict of the king, made in May, 1719, by which the Company of the West was united to the East India and Chinese Company, un-

der the title of "*La Compagnie Royale des Indes.*" Finally, in 1731, the whole territory was reconveyed to the crown of France, the objects of the company having totally failed.

From the great number of grants of land made during the existence of these companies, it appears that Illinois, even at that time, had attracted considerable attention. In making these grants, the officers of the company united with those of the crown. We have examined some of these concessions, dated in 1722, which are made by "Peirre Duquet de Boisbriant, first Lieutenant of the King in the Province of Louisiana, and commandant for the Illinois; and Marc Antonie de la Loir des Versins, Principal Commissary for the Royal Company of the Indies, at their factory in the Illinois."

In 1723, a grant was made to Philip Renault, including the site of St. Philippe, of "one league in front by two in depth, at Grand Marias, on the Mississippi river. This stream is now called Mary, and by one of our geographers, St. Mary.

August 14, 1743, Monsieur Vaudriauel, Governor, and Monsieur Salmon, Commissary Ordonnateur of the Province of Louisiana, granted to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, a tract of land as a common, for the use of said inhabitants forever, which was bounded north by the southern limit of said village, east by the Kaskaskia river, south and west by the Mississippi and the limits of the "common field." The common field is a tract, composed of various grants in severalty, made to individual inhabitants in *franc allieu* (fee simple), and which, from the first, has

been inclosed in one common fence, and subjected to certain village regulations. We see here, a custom peculiar to the French. There was attached to almost every village, a *common*, belonging to the village in its municipal character, which was left unenclosed, for pasturage or other common purposes. No portion of this could be alienated or converted into private property, but by the unanimous act of the villagers. When a young couple married, or a person settled in the village, who was too indigent to purchase land, they sometimes made to such parties donations of a few acres of the common, by deed, signed by all the inhabitants; and the lot thus severed, became private property, and might be added, if conveniently situated, to the *common field*. The latter was owned in parcels by individuals, who held a larger or smaller number of acres, in separate lots, each tilling his own land, although the whole was surrounded by a single fence, and the several parts were not divided by enclosures.

Previous to the year 1748, Spain, France, and England, claimed the greater part of North America, by right of conquest, or of discoveries made under their patronage, respectively. The treaty of Aixe la Chapelle, made in that year, contained a provision for the restitution of the territories which each had wrested from the other, but was wholly silent as to boundaries. France, however, owned Canada on the north, and Lower Louisiana on the south, besides claiming the intermediate discoveries of La Salle and others, on the upper lakes, the Mississippi, and the Illinois.

The French government, at a very early period, adopted the policy of uniting their possessions in Canada with those in Louisiana, by a chain of posts, which, extending along the whole course of the northern lakes, and the Mississippi, should open a line of interior communication from Quebec to New Orleans, and which would secure to them the expansive territory of the west, by confining their English neighbors to the country east of the Alleghany ridge. It happened, however, with the French, as with the English, that all their calculations in reference to their American colonies, were formed upon a scale too small, as well in regard to the objects to be secured, as in relation to the extent of the means to be employed. The minds of their statesmen seem to have never embraced the whole vast field upon which their policy was to operate. They appear to have had but feeble conceptions of the great extent of the country, and to have been entirely ignorant of the amount and character of the means necessary for its subjection. Their schemes wanted unity of design, and the ill-assorted parts seldom harmonized together. Thus, although the French established military posts, and planted colonies throughout the whole of this region, they were so distant from each other, and so unconnected as to afford no mutual support, nor could they ever be brought to act efficiently together, as component parts of any colonial or military system. The plan —or want of plan—was happily conceived for our benefit; and was disadvantageous only to those whose want of wisdom, and of vigor, deprived them

of territory at an earlier period than that at which they would otherwise have lost it.

It is curious to reflect upon the situation of these colonists. Their nearest civilized neighbors were the English on the shores of the Atlantic, distant a thousand miles, from whom they were separated by a barrier then insurmountable, and with whom they had no more intercourse than with the Chinese. Their countrymen, it is true, had posts throughout the west, but they were too distant for frequent intercourse, and they were peopled by those, who, like themselves, were disconnected from all the rest of the world. But the French brought with them, or found in their vicinity, certain elements of prosperity, which enabled them to flourish in spite of the disadvantages of their unprotected situation. They were unambitious and contented. It was always their policy to conciliate the natives, whom they invariably treated with a kindness and consideration never shown to that unhappy race by other Europeans, and with whom they preserved a faith unbroken upon either side. In a few years, Kaskaskia grew into a town, whose population has been variously estimated, at from 1 to 8,000 inhabitants; the latter number is doubtless an exaggeration, but either of them indicates a wonderful population for a place having little commerce, no arts, and no surrounding territory. They lived chiefly by agriculture, hunting, and trading with the Indians. They possessed a country prolific in all the bounties of nature. The wild fruits were abundant. The grape, the plum, the persimmon, and the cherry, attain here a size unknown in less favored regions. The delicate

pecan, the hickory nut, the walnut, and the hazle, strew the ground during the autumn, excelling the corresponding productions of the Atlantic states, as much in size and flavor as in quantity. Of domestic fruits, the peach, the apple, and the pear, attain great perfection. Here the maple yields its sugar, and the cotton its fibre, the sweet potato and the Indian corn yield abundantly, while wheat, and many other of the productions of colder countries, come to perfection. The deer, the buffalo, and the elk, furnished in those days bountiful supplies — the rivers abounded with fish — while the furry and the feathered tribes afforded articles for comfort and for trade. Surrounded thus by good things, what more could a Frenchman have desired, unless it were a violin and a glass of claret? The former we are told they had, and we have good authority for saying, that they drank excellent wine from their own grapes.

Of their civil, military, and religious institutions we have little on record, but enough may be gathered to show that though simple and efficient, they were entirely anomalous. The priests seem to have been prudent men. At a time when religious intolerance was sufficiently fashionable, we hear of no trouble among our French. The good men who regulated their consciences seem to have prized "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," so highly, as to be content to pursue their own vocation in peace with all the world. The military sway, which was paramount, seems to have been equally mild — perhaps because it was equally undisputed — and as for the civil jurisdiction, we find so little trace of it, either

on record, or in tradition, as to induce the belief that the people seldom needed its interposition. Some old deeds which remain of record at Kaskaskia, are dated as far back as 1712, framed, of course, on the model of civil law, and written in a choice old provincial dialect. Their legal proceedings were brief and simple — so much so, that we, with our notions, should have called them arbitrary. Yet such was their attachment to their ancient customs, that with the kindest feelings towards our country, and our people, they could ill brook the introduction of the common law, when their territory was ceded to our government. They thought its forms burthensome and complicated, and many of them removed to Louisiana, where the civil law was still in force.

Separated thus from all the world, these people acquired many peculiarities. In language, dress, and manners, they lost much of their original polish; but they retained, and still retain, many of the leading characteristics of their nation. They took care to keep up their ancient holidays and festivals; and with few luxuries and fewer wants, they were probably as cheerful and as happy a people as any in existence.

Kaskaskia, called in the old French records, "Notre dame de Cascasquias," is beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers. It is not at the point of confluence, but four miles above, where the rivers approach to within less than two miles of each other; and the original plan of the town extended across from river to river. In this respect, the position is precisely analogous to that of Philadelphia.

The point widens below the town, and embraces a large tract of immensely fertile land, mostly common, covered with plumb, grape, pecan trees, and other of the richest productions of nature. Here a number of horses, turned loose by the first settlers, increased to large droves of animals, as wild as the original stock. They have now been in a state of nature for more than a century. The inhabitants catch and tame them when wanted for use; and the "point horses," though small, are celebrated for their spirit and hardiness. The site of the town is on a level alluvial plain, composed of a deep and extremely rich soil. On the opposite side of the Kaskaskia river, the land is high and broken. This river is 350 feet wide opposite the town, and preserves a considerable width and depth, with a scarcely perceptible current, uninterrupted by an obstruction for more than fifty miles upwards; beyond that, the current is still gentle, and the stream would be navigable for small boats, in high water, to Vandalia, distant ninety-five miles by land, and more than two hundred by the meanders of the river, if a few obstructions, consisting entirely of fallen timber, should be removed.

This village still retains many striking evidences of its origin, and of the peculiar character of its inhabitants. Many of the old houses remain, and afford curious specimens of the architecture of the people and the period. Some of them were built of stone, others were of framed timber, with the interstices filled with cement. They were usually plastered over with a hard mortar and white-washed. The

gable ends are often placed to face the streets, and the great roofs exhibited a heavy and singular construction. The houses were generally but one story high, and spread out so as to occupy a large surface; and those of the better order were surrounded by piazzas, a comfortable fashion still retained in the dwellings of the planters in Louisiana. To almost all the houses, large gardens were attached, enclosed with high stone walls, or by picketing, composed of large stakes planted perpendicularly in the ground. The inhabitants cultivated a great profusion of fruits and flowers; and, although abstemious in their diet, lived in ease and comfort.

The old church at Kaskaskia, is a venerable pile, which, although more than a century old, is still in a tolerable state of preservation, and is used as a place of worship by the Catholic inhabitants. It is very large, and is built in a quaint old-fashioned style. The construction of the roof is a great curiosity; its extensive and massy surface being supported by an immense number of pieces of timber, framed together with great neatness and accuracy, and crossing each other at a variety of different angles, so that no part of the structure can by any possibility sink until the whole shall fall together. In this church are several valuable old records, and among others a baptismal register, containing the generations of the French settlers from about the year 1690.

In 1763, France ceded her possessions east of the Mississippi, to England. Captain Philip Pittman of the English army, visited "the country of Illinois," in 1770, and published an account of it, from which

we glean the following particulars. Kaskaskia contained at that time, according to Captain Pittman, sixty-five families, besides merchants, casual people, and slaves, an enumeration which we have reason to suppose fell greatly short of the truth. The fort, which was burnt down in 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock, opposite the town, on the other side of the Kaskaskia river. Its shape was an oblong quadrangle, of which, the exterior polygon measured 290 by 251 feet. It was built of very thick squared timber, dovetailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers were quartered at the village in 1770, and the inhabitants were formed into two companies of militia. The officer governed the village, under the direction of the commandant at Fort Chartres.

La Prairie de Rocher, thirteen miles from Kaskaskia, is described as being, at that time, a "small village, with twelve dwelling-houses." The number must certainly have been much greater, as there were two hundred inhabitants in 1820, when the village had fallen to decay. Here was a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The village was distant from the fort seven miles, and took its name from its situation, being built at the base of a high parapet of rock, that runs parallel to the Mississippi.

"Saint Philippe," says Captain Pittman, "is a small village, about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias; there are about sixteen houses, and a small church standing; all the inhabitants, except the captain of militia, deserted it in 1765, and went to the French side. The captain of militia has about

twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi."

"The village of Saint Famille de Kaoquias," says the same writer, "contains forty-five dwellings, and a church near its centre. The situation is not well chosen, being overflowed. It was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages, by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada. The inhabitants depend more on hunting and their Indian trade, than agriculture, as they scarce raise corn enough for their own consumption. They have a great deal of poultry, and good stocks of horned cattle. The mission of Saint Sulpice had a fine plantation here, and a good house on it. They sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman, who chose to remain here under the English government. What is called the fort, is a small building in the centre of the village, which differs nothing from the other houses, except being the meanest. It was enclosed with palisades, but these are rotted or burnt. There is no use for a fort here."

Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois country. It was afterwards the head quarters of the English commanding officer, who was in fact the arbitrary governor of this region. The shape of the fort was an irregular quadrangle, with four bastions. The sides of the exterior polygon were about 490 feet in extent. It was designed only as a defence against Indians.

The walls, which were of stone and plastered over, were two feet two inches thick, and fifteen feet high, with loop-holes at regular distances, and two port-holes for cannon in each face, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch was never finished. The entrance was through a handsome rustic gate. Within the wall was a small banquette, raised three feet, for the men to stand upon when they fired through the loop-holes. Each port or loop-hole, was formed of four solid blocks of rock, of freestone, worked smooth. All the cornices and casements about the gate and buildings were of the same material, and appeared to great advantage.

The buildings within the fort, were the commandant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, *corps de guarde*, and two barracks, occupying the square. Within the gorges of the bastions were a powder magazine; a bake-house; a prison, in the lower floor of which were four dungeons, and in the upper two rooms; and some smaller buildings. The commandant's house was ninety-six feet long and thirty deep, containing a dining-room, a bed-chamber, a parlor, a kitchen, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house was built in a line with this, and its proportions and distribution of apartments were the same. Opposite these, were the store-house and guard-house; each ninety feet long by twenty-four deep. The former contained two large store rooms, with vaulted cellars under the whole, a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the keeper; the latter, soldiers' and officers' guard rooms, a chapel, a bed-chamber, and closet for the chaplain,

and an artillery store room. The lines of the barracks, two in number, were never completely finished. They consisted of two rooms in each line for officers, and three for soldiers; they were good, spacious rooms, of twenty-two feet square, with passages between them. All these buildings were of solid masonry, and well finished. There were extensive lofts over each building, reaching from end to end, which were made use of to contain regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, &c. It was generally allowed that this was the most commodious and best built fort in North America. The bank of the Mississippi next the fort, was continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which was turned from its course by a sand-bar that soon increased to an island, and became covered with willows. Many experiments were tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. When the fort was begun in 1756, it was half a mile from the water side; in 1766, it was eighty paces; and the western angle has since been undermined by the water. In 1762, the river was fordable to the sand-bar; in 1770, the latter was separated from the shore by a channel forty feet deep. Such are the changes of the Mississippi. In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village of Fort Chartres, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled at the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government.

The writer visited the ruins of Fort Chartres recently. It was situated, as well as the villages above-named, on the American Bottom, an extensive and remarkably fertile plain, bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by a range of bluffs, whose summits are level with the general surface of the country. The bluffs are steep, and have the appearance of having once formed the eastern bank of the Mississippi. It would seem that they composed a continuous, even, and nearly perpendicular parapet, separating the plain which margins the river, from the higher plain of the main land. But the ravines washed by rains, have indented it in such a manner, as to divide the summit into a series of rounded elevations, which often present the appearance of a range of Indian mounds. These bluffs are so called when bare of timber, which is their usual character; and when their beautifully graceful undulations are exposed to the eye, they form one of the most remarkable aad attractive features of the scenery of this country. When timbered, they do not differ from ordinary hills. We approached Fort Chartres in the summer, when the native fruit trees were loaded with their rich products. Never did we behold the fruits of the forest growing in such abundance, or such amazing luxuriance. Immense thickets of the wild plum, might be seen as we rode over the prairie, extending for miles along its edges, so loaded with crimson fruit, as to exhibit to the eye a long streak of glowing red. Sometimes we rode through thickets of crab-apple, equally prolific, and sometimes the road wound through copses matted with grape vines, bear-

ing a profusion of rich clusters. Although the spot was familiar to my companion, it was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are now covered and surrounded with a young but vigorous and ungigantic growth of forest trees, and with a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines, through which we forced our way with considerable labor. Even the crumbling pile itself is thus overgrown, the tall trees rearing their stems from piles of stone, and the vines creeping over the tottering walls. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations could be easily traced. A large vaulted powder magazine remained in good preservation. The exterior wall, the most interesting vestige, as it gave the general outline of the whole, was thrown down in some places; but in many, retained something like its original height and form; and it was curious to see in the gloom of a wild forest, these remnants of the architecture of a past age. One angle of the fort and an entire bastion, had been undermined and swept entirely away by the river, which, having expended its force in this direction, was again retiring, and a narrow belt of young timber had grown up between the water's edge and the ruins.

Many curious anecdotes might still be picked up in relation to these early settlers; especially in Illinois and Missouri, where the Spanish, French, English, and American authorities have had sway in rapid succession. At one time the French had possession of one side of the Mississippi, and the Spaniards of the other, and a story is told of a Spaniard living on one shore. who, being the creditor of a Frenchman resid-

ing on the other, seized a child, the daughter of the latter, and having borne her across the river, which formed a national boundary, held her as a hostage for the payment of the debt. The civil authorities, respectively, declined interfering; the military did not think the matter sufficiently important to create a national war, and the Frenchman had to redeem his offspring by discharging the creditor's demand. The lady, who was thus abduced, is still living, or was living a few years ago, near Cahokia, the mother of a numerous progeny of American French people.

Having spoken of the pacific disposition evinced by the French, in their early intercourse with the Indian tribes, it is proper to remark, that we allude particularly to those who settled on the Wabash and upper Mississippi. They have every where treated the savages with more kindness and greater justice than the people of other nations; but there have been exceptions, which we are not disposed to conceal or palliate. In Lower Louisiana, they emulated the cruelty of the Spaniards and the rapacity of the English; but in Illinois, their conduct towards their uncivilized neighbors seems to have been uniformly friendly and amiable; and the descendants of the first settlers of that state, still enjoy the confidence of the Indian tribes.

We have heard of an occasion on which this reciprocal kindness was very strongly shown. Many years ago, a murder having been committed in some broil, three Indian young men were given up by the Kaskaskia tribe, to the civil authorities of the newly established American government. The population

of Kaskaskia was still entirely French, who felt much sympathy for their Indian friends, and saw these hard proceedings of the law with great dissatisfaction. The ladies, particularly, took a warm interest in the fate of the young aboriginals, and determined, if they must die, they should at least be converted to christianity, in the mean while, and baptized into the true church. Accordingly, after due preparation, arrangements were made for a public baptism of the neophytes in the old cathedral of the village. Each of the youths was adopted by a lady, who gave him a name, and was to stand godmother in the ceremony; and these lady patronesses, with their respective friends, were busily engaged for some days in preparing dresses and decorations for their favorites. There was quite a sensation in the village. Never were three young gentlemen brought into fashion more suddenly or more decidedly; the ladies talked of nothing else, and all the needles in the village were plying, in the preparation of finery for the occasion. Previous to the ceremony—that is, the ceremony of hanging—the aboriginals gave their jailor the slip, and escaped, aided most probably by the ladies, who had planned the whole affair with a view to this result. The law is not vindictive in new countries; the danger soon blew over; the young men again appeared in public, and evinced their gratitude to their benefactresses.

It is with regret that we record the dispersion of this kind-hearted people from the dwellings of their fathers. Several generations flourished happily in Illinois, under the mild sway of the French government. The military commandants, and the priests,

governed them with an uncontrolled, but with a parental authority. They were not oppressed with taxes, nor do we read of their having any political grievances. They were unambitious and submissive.

The first adventurers to Louisiana and Canada, had exchanged the fruitful fields and vineyards of France, for the inhospitable wilds of the new world, not to pursue their former occupations, but to amass opulent fortunes by mining. They expected to find a country rich in precious minerals, and great was their disappointment when they came to realize their condition. The Indian trade furnished their only means of subsistence. They took little pains to ascertain the quality of their lands, or to ascertain what products were suited to the soil and climate. The consequence was that the great mass of them became poor, the spirit of enterprise was extinguished, and they grew as inert as they were inoffensive. They became boatmen and hunters, and the labors of nine-tenths of the population on distant lakes and rivers, exposed to danger, privation, and death, served only to augment the wealth of a few traders and merchants. The physical strength of a community, depends more on agriculture than on any other pursuit. The ancient French were ignorant of this truth, and their descendants have not learned it to this day. They seldom attempted any thing more than the cultivation of their gardens, and the raising of a little grain for their own consumption. In the mechanic arts they made no progress; they still use some of the implements of agriculture introduced by their fore-

fathers a century ago; and drive vehicles, such as were in fashion in some provinces of France at the same period. But they were contented. The most perfect equality reigned among them. They lived in harmony, all danced to the same violin, and preserved their national vivacity, and love of amusement.

When their country came into the possession of the American government, they were displeased with the change. There never was a stronger instance of the unfitness of republican institutions for an ignorant people. Accustomed to be ruled by the officers of the French crown, and to bestow no thought on matters of public policy, they disliked the machinery of municipal institutions, which they did not understand, and considered it a hardship to be called upon to elect officers, or perform civil duties. It is said that a few years ago, when the inhabitants of one of these villages were told that it would be proper for them to attend an election, to vote for a member to congress, one of their principal men declared that it was an imposition to send any man so far from home, that *he* would not go to congress, nor would he assist in imposing such an unpleasant duty upon any of his neighbors.

The influx of a population dissimilar to themselves in manners, language, religion, and habits, displeased them; the enterprise and fondness for improvement of the American settlers, fretted and annoyed them. The land lying waste around them, they had considered as a kind of common property, the natural inheritance of their children and countrymen; and when any one wished to convert a portion of it to his own

use, he applied to the lieutenant governor, who granted a *concession* for a certain number of acres. But now they saw all this domain surveyed and offered for sale to the highest bidder; and there was a fair prospect that in a few years there would be no wilderness remaining to hunt in, and no range for their wild ponies and cattle.

Another anecdote of these times is worth recording. When General George Rogers Clarke, the Hannibal of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his head quarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house enveloped with piazzas and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man, abounding in good living and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The general remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A. with a high respect for his character, and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled away; General Clarke had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log house, in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes, and singing their merry French songs. One voice

arrested his ear—it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones and ever buoyant humor of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognized each other instantly. Michel was as glad to see the General, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him, with as much unembarrassed hospitality, as if he had still been in his spacious house surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the general, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

The city of St. Louis was founded in the year 1764, by Monsieur Laclede, one of the partners in a mercantile association, known under the name of Laclede, Ligueste, Maxan & Company, to whom the Director General of the province of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far up as the river St. Peter. The traffic in furs and peltry with these distant tribes, though of great value, would have been unavailable without a suitable place for the deposit of merchandise; and to induce the company to hazard the establishment of such a depot, which would also serve as the nucleus of new settlements west of the Mississippi, extensive powers were given to the gentlemen engaged in this enterprise. M. Laclede, therefore, formed an expedition, at the head of which he set out from New Orleans, on the 3d of August, 1763, and arrived at Ste. Genevieve, where it seems there was already a small settlement, on the 3d of November—the voyage which is now accomplished in ten days by our steamboats, occupying those adventurers three months, with their inferior means of transportation. This point being too distant from the Missouri, he proceeded to the mouth of that river, and on his return fixed upon the site. Having wintered at Fort Chartres, and gained some recruits at

that place, Cahokia, and Ste. Genevieve, he commenced, on the 15th of February, 1764, the work of cutting down trees and laying out a town, which he called St. Louis, after the reigning king of France. In consequence of some subsequent distress, on account of a scarcity of provisions, it received the popular name of *Pain Court*, by which it was called for many years. M. Auguste Chouteau, then about fourteen years of age, who has since been one of the most opulent and enterprising of the citizens of that place, and is but recently deceased, was of the party which laid the foundation of this flourishing city.

In the selection of this site, a degree of sagacity was shown, which has seldom marked such transactions. The spot is elevated above the inundations of the river, from whose margin the ground rises gradually, and is based on a thick stratum of rock, which affords the most admirable materials for building. Above and below, along the river, was an abundance of timber, and to the west an unlimited expanse of fertile prairies; while on the east were the rich plains of Illinois. A short distance below were the lead mines, which have, for half a century past, afforded a valuable article of trade; a few miles above the town, the Missouri and Illinois rivers united their waters with those of the Mississippi, extending the channels of intercourse throughout a vast interior region; and this obscure spot in the heart of a great continent, and far distant from the ocean, was visited by the birch canoes from Quebec, as well as by the barges from New Orleans.

In July, 1765, Fort de Chartres was evacuated by

the French, and *M. de St. Ange de belle rive*, the commander, proceeded to St. Louis with the troops, and assumed the reins of government. From this time St. Louis was considered as the capital of Upper Louisiana. Having organized a government, one of his first acts was to parcel the land to the settlers, to whom M. Laclede had given possession, but not titles.

He accordingly made the *Livre Terrien*, or land-book, in which grants of land were not *recorded* only, but originally written, and a copy of the entry made in this book constituted the evidence of title in the hands of the grantee. These concessions were not considered as inchoate grants, which were to be ratified by a higher authority, but as perfect titles, independent of any condition, except those of the land being subject to taxation, and being improved by the grantee, within a limited time. The mode of obtaining grants was by petition or *requete*, addressed to the commandant; and the concession generally ran, after reciting the application, thus: "On the day and year aforesaid, at the request of ——, we have granted, and do grant to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lot (or piece of land, describing its contents, boundaries, and locality), which he prays for, with the condition that he shall establish it within a year and a day, and that it shall be subject to the public charges. St. Ange."

Nearly the same form of concession was used under the Spanish authority. There was usually, however, a stipulation contained in them, that in case the conditions of improvement and cultivation should not be complied with, the lands should revert to the

king, and some instances are found in the Livre Terrien, where that resumption has taken place. At first these grants were proportioned to the means of the applicant, but at a later period they were made to all who chose to apply for them, to any extent, unconditionally, and without reference to the ability of the applicant. The policy of the government, in making the grants, was to settle the country; but the remoteness of this province, and the extent of the authority necessarily placed in the hands of the lieutenant governors, enabled them to abuse this power, and it is said to have degenerated into a system of favoritism. Up to a certain period, the means of the cultivator were taken as the criterion by which the magnitude of the grant was regulated, and as there was no public surveyor, the difficulty of locating large tracts, and settling the boundaries, may have deterred many from attempting such speculations. But these obstacles, if they were such, were removed by the appointment of a surveyor general, in 1795, and the number of concessions increased with incredible rapidity, especially in the period immediately preceding the occupation of the country by the American government. Previous to the appointment of M. Soulard, as surveyor general, in 1795, the whole number of arpens of land conceded to individuals did not exceed 50,000; but the number granted after that appointment, amounted to 2,150,969.

The government of the United States recognizes the validity of all titles to real estate acquired under the French or Spanish governments; but the great

number of these grants, and the negligence with which they were made, has caused great perplexity to congress, and to the courts of law.

Under the administration of M. St. Ange, St. Louis assumed the appearance of a town, and the foundations of social order were laid. The soldiers became amalgamated with the inhabitants; comfortable dwellings were erected; and the *common fields*, as they are now called, were opened and improved. All accounts which have reached us, agree in describing the government as mild and patriarchal; the whole community seem to have lived together as a single family, under the guidance of a common father, enjoying a common patrimony.

A curious remark has occurred to us, upon a comparison of the first settlements of the English and the French. Though the latter nation has always been inferior to the former in the mechanical arts, especially in those of the useful kind; and though the English invariably deny to the French any adequate perception of the enjoyments embraced by themselves under the word *comfort*, both these propositions would seem to be reversed by the evidence to which we allude. The first habitations of the English were log cabins, the most unsightly and comfortless, and their descendants, to this day, commence all their villages with the same rude dwellings, or with frail erections of framed timber, while the garden and the orchard have been tardily introduced. The old French villages, on the contrary, consisted of substantial houses of stone, or of heavy timber, plastered with excellent mortar, encompassed by piazzas, and surrounded by

gardens stocked with fruit, and enclosed with walls, or strong stockades. The first habitations of the English have mouldered away, and comparatively few relics remain to attest their character, while many houses in the French villages, have been left by the hand of time in their primitive integrity, durable monuments of the taste and comfort of the original proprietors. The excellence of their masonry has been often remarked; the walls of Fort Chartres, though long since abandoned, and left exposed to the elements, are so indestructible, that the inhabitants of the neighborhood, in attempting to remove the materials, have found it difficult to take them apart.

In 1768, after St. Ange had governed at St. Louis three years, Mr. Rious arrived with Spanish troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic majesty; but did not exercise any jurisdiction, as it appears from the records in the *Livre Terrien*, that St. Ange continued to perform official acts until 1770. It is inferred, that the reluctance of the inhabitants to submit to the change of rulers, was so great, that it was judged prudent to defer the assertion of the new authority, until the dissatisfaction caused by the transfer of the country had worn away, and the people become reconciled to their new master. The wisdom of this policy became apparent, in the firm attachment which was displayed towards the Spanish government, so that when the province was retroceded to France, in 1800, the people again expressed their dissatisfaction at the change; and they were not less displeased at the subsequent transfer to the United States.

In 1767, was founded Vuide Poche, which in 1796 took the name of Carondelet. Florissant was founded in 1769; Les Petites Cotes was settled in 1769, and called St. Charles in 1804.

The inhabitants of St. Louis continued for about fifteen years to live in perfect harmony with the Indians, without molestation, and without any apprehension of danger. The first hostilities do not appear to have arisen out of any quarrel between the parties themselves, but resulted from the contest raging between Great Britain and her colonies. In 1777, a rumor came to this remote spot, that an attack would shortly be made upon the town by the Canadians, and such Indians as were friendly to the English. The village was then almost destitute of military defences, but the inhabitants, including little more than a hundred men, immediately proceeded to inclose it with a kind of wall, about six feet high, formed of the trunks of small trees, planted in the ground, the interstices being filled with earth. It described a semicircle, resting upon the river, above and below the town, flanked by a small fort at one extremity, and a less important work at the other. It had three gates for egress towards the country, each defended by a piece of heavy ordnance, which was kept continually charged. For a while, these preparations seemed to have been needless; winter passed away, and spring came, without any attack; the labors of husbandry were resumed, and the villagers laid aside their fears, and their military exercises.

In May, 1778, the attack was made, in a manner

characteristic of the times and place.* The force of the enemy, consisting of a motley band of about fourteen hundred men, collected from various tribes residing on the lakes, and the Mississippi — Ojibeways, Menomenies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Saukies, and some Canadians — assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 6th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 5th of May was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. An assault on that day would have been fatal; for after attending divine service, the villagers, old and young, men, women, and children, sallied out in all the glee of a Catholic holiday, unsuspicious of danger, to the neighboring prairie, to gather the ripe strawberries, of which there was a great profusion. The town, left unguarded, could have been easily taken. A few only of the enemy, however, had crossed the river; and these, lying ambushed in the prairie, made no effort to disturb the peaceable villagers, who were frequently so near as to be almost in contact with the lurking savages. But the latter either did not discover the total desertion of the town, or with the known pertinacity of the Indian character, determined to adhere to the preconcerted plan of attack.

The enemy crossed the river on the 6th, and marched to the fields, where they expected to find the most of the villagers engaged in their agricultural pursuits. It happened that but few were there, who fled under a shower of bullets, and barely escaped

* Illinois Monthly Magazine, vol. ii. p. 357.

with the aid of their friends in the village, who, on hearing the alarm, rushed to the gates, which they threw open to receive their comrades, and then closed against the enemy. The inhabitants, men and women, acted with spirit, and the savages, after receiving a few discharges of grape shot, retired, after killing about twenty of the whites. An indelible stain was fixed upon the character of the commandant, Leyba, who not only took no share of the danger, but even commanded the inhabitants to cease firing, and used such exertions to cripple the defence, that he was suspected of treachery; while his Lieutenant, Cartabona, with sixty soldiers, remained concealed in a garret during the whole action. The reader of colonial history, will be struck with the coincidence of this event with many which occurred in all the American colonies, under whatever foreign dominion; the inhabitants were often plunged into wars with the Indians, with whom they had no quarrel, by the policy of their superiors—wars, of which the effects fell solely upon themselves, which were prosecuted by their arms, and successfully terminated by their valor. This first attack upon St. Louis, formed an era in the history of the place, and the year in which it occurred, is still designated by the inhabitants as "*L'annee du grand coup*." The town was afterwards more strongly fortified, and was not again molested by the Indians.

In the month of April, 1785, there was an unparalleled rise of the Mississippi, which swelled to the extraordinary height of thirty feet above the highest water mark previously known. The town of Kas-

kaskia was completely inundated, and the whole of the *American Bottom* overflowed. This year forms another era in the reminiscences of the old inhabitants, who call it the *year of the great waters*—"L'annee des grandes eaux."

The intercourse with New Orleans, was at this period neither frequent nor easy. The only mode of transporting merchandise, was by means of keel-boats and barges, which descended the river in the spring, and returned late in the autumn. The preparations for a voyage to *the City*, as New Orleans was called, were as extensive and deliberate, as those which would now be made for a voyage to the East Indies. Instead of the rapid steamboats, which render the navigation of our long rivers so easy, they had the tardy and frail bark, slowly propelled by human labor. There was also danger, as well as difficulty in the enterprise; a numerous band of robbers, under the command of two men named Culbert and Magilbray, having stationed themselves at a place called "La riviere aux liards," *Cottonwood creek*, where they carried on a regular and extensive system of piracy. As the voyage was long, and the communication between the two ports was attempted but once a year, the boats were generally so richly laden, that the capture of one of them afforded wealth to the plunderers, and brought ruin upon the owner. An incident of this description, illustrative of the facts to which I allude, I will narrate, as I find it in an excellent article on the history of St. Louis, from which I have already quoted liberally.*

* Illinois Monthly Magazine.

In the spring of 1787, a barge belonging to Mr. Beausoliel, had started from New Orleans, richly laden with merchandise, for St. Louis. As she approached the Cottonwood creek, a breeze sprung up and bore her swiftly by. This the robbers perceived, and immediately despatched a company of men up the river for the purpose of heading. The manœuvre was effected in the course of two days, at an island, which has since been called Beausoliel's island. The barge had just put ashore—the robbers boarded, and ordered the crew to return down. The men were disarmed, guards were stationed in every part of the vessel, and she was soon under way. Mr. Beausoliel gave himself up to despair. He had spent all he possessed in the purchase of the barge and its cargo, and now that he was to be deprived of them all, he was in agony. This vessel would have shared the fate of many others that had preceded it, but for the heroic daring of a negro, who was one of the crew. Cacasotte, the negro, was a man rather under the ordinary height, very slender in person, but of uncommon strength and activity. The color of his skin and the curl of his hair, alone told that he was a negro, for the peculiar characteristics of his race, had given place in him, to what might be termed beauty. His forehead was finely moulded, his eyes small and sparkling as those of a serpent, his nose aquiline, his lips of a proper thickness; in fact, the whole appearance of the man, joined to his known character for shrewdness and courage, seemed to indicate, that under better circumstances, he might have shone conspicuous in the history of nations.

Cacasotte, as soon as the robbers had taken possession of the barge, began to make every demonstration of uncontrollable joy. He danced, sang, laughed, and soon induced his captors to believe that they had liberated him from irksome slavery, and that his actions were the ebullitions of pleasure. His constant attention to their smallest wants and wishes, too, won their confidence, and whilst they kept a watchful eye on the other prisoners, they permitted him to roam through the vessel unmolested and unwatched. This was the state of things that the negro desired; he seized the first opportunity to speak to Mr. Beausoliel, and beg permission to rid him of the dangerous intruders. He laid his plan before his master, who, after a great deal of hesitation, acceded to it. Cacasotte then spoke tc two of the crew, likewise negroes, and engaged them in the conspiracy. Cacasotte was cook, and it was agreed between him and his fellow conspirators, that the signal for dinner should be the signal for action. The hour of dinner at length arrived. The robbers assembled in considerable numbers on the deck, and stationed themselves at the bow and stern, and along the sides, to prevent any rising of the men. Cacasotte went among them with the most unconcerned look and demeanor imaginable. As soon as he perceived that his comrades had taken the stations he had assigned them, he took his position at the bow of the boat, near one of the robbers, a stout, herculean man, who was armed cap-a-pie. Every thing being arranged to his satisfaction, Cacasotte gave the preconcerted signal, and immediately the rob-

ber near him was struggling in the waters. With the speed of lightning, he went from one robber to another, and in less than three minutes, he had thrown fourteen of them overboard. Then seizing an oar, he struck on the head those who attempted to save themselves by grappling the running boards, then shot with the muskets that had been dropped on deck, those who swam away. In the mean time, the other conspirators were not idle, but did almost as much execution as their leader. The deck was soon cleared, and the robbers that remained below, were too few in number to offer any resistance.

Having got rid of his troublesome visitors, Mr. Beausoliel deemed it prudent to return to New Orleans. This he accordingly did, taking care when he arrived near the Cottonwood creek, to keep the opposite side of the river. He reached New Orleans, and gave an account of his capture and liberation to the Governor, who thereupon issued an order, that the boats bound for St. Louis in the following spring, should all go in company, to afford mutual assistance in case of necessity. Spring came, and ten keel-boats, each provided with swivels, and their respective crews well armed, took their departure from New Orleans, determined, if possible, to destroy the nest of robbers. When they neared the Cottonwood creek, the foremost boat perceived several men near the mouth, among the trees. The anchor was dropped, and she waited until the other boats should come up. In a few moments they appeared, and a consultation was held, in which it was determined that a sufficient number of men should

remain on board, whilst the others should proceed on shore to attack the robbers. The boats were rowed to shore in a line, and those appointed for that purpose, landed and began to search the island in quest of the robbers, but in vain! They had disappeared. Three or four flat-boats were found in a bend of the creek, laden with all kinds of valuable merchandise —the fruits of their depredations. A long low hut was discovered—the dwelling of the robbers—in which were stored away numerous cases of guns, destined for the fur trade, ammunition and provisions of all kinds. The greater part of these things were put on board the boats, and restored to their respective owners, at St. Louis.

This proceeding had the effect of dispersing the robbers, for they were never after heard of. The arrival of ten barges together at St. Louis, was an unusual spectacle, and the year 1788, has ever since been called the *year of the ten boats.*

As we do not design to speak of the history of the French settlements in minute detail, we shall only add that there were several others, cotemporaneous with those which we have mentioned, the chief of which were Detroit and Vincennes. The former was founded in 1670, the latter in 1702. The manners and habits of the people, and their adventures were similar to those we have described; except that Detroit being situated at a more exposed point, and surrounded by warlike tribes, who were engaged in hostilities with each other, experienced more of the vicissitudes of war.

The French seem to have been mainly induced to penetrate into these remote regions, in search of the

precious metals; an eager desire for which, had been awakened in Europe by the discoveries of the Spaniards in South America, and by a general belief of the existence of similar treasures on the northern continent. That such was the fact, is sufficiently proved by the frequent mention of mines and minerals, in all the charters and larger grants of territory made by the French crown, as well as by the numerous and expensive efforts of individuals and companies, in the pursuit of the precious ores.

The leaders in these enterprises were gentlemen of education and talents, who had no inducements to remain in these remote settlements, after the disappointment of their hopes, and either returned to France, or settled in Lower Louisiana, where they found a more genial climate than in the higher latitudes. The remainder were pacific and illiterate rustics, who brought no property, nor entertained any ambitious views. Few of them had come prepared for either agricultural or commercial pursuits, and when the dreams of sudden wealth, with which they had been deluded, faded from before them, they were not disposed to engage in the ordinary employments of enlightened industry. Perhaps the inducement, as well as the means, was wanting. There was little encouragement for agriculture, where there was no market for produce; there could be few arts, and but little commerce, at points so distant from the abodes of civilized men. They were besides an unenterprising and contented race, who were ignorant of the prolific resources of the country around them, and destitute of the slightest perception of its probable destiny—its rapid advancement in population

and improvement. Whatever might have been the views of their government, the French settlers indulged no ambitious visions, and laid no plans, either for territorial aggrandizement or political domination. They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organize a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defences; but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessaries of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace, and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them, as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind*, or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practised among the English or American first settlers; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessaries of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

The only new arts which the French adopted, in consequence of their change of residence, were those connected with the fur trade. The few who were engaged in merchandise, turned their attention almost exclusively to the traffic with the Indians, while a large number became hunters and boatmen. The *voyageurs*, *engagees*, and *couriers des bois*, as they are called, form a peculiar race of men. They are active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among boatmen and mariners. They are patient of fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indian, abiding for long periods, and even permanently with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen, they navigate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods, so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury.

The French had also a fort on the Ohio, about thirty-six miles above the junction of that river with the Mississippi, of which the Indians obtained possession by a singular stratagem. A number of them appeared in the day time on the opposite side of the river, each covered with a bear-skin, walking on all-fours, and imitating the motions of that animal. The French supposed them to be bears, and a party crossed the river in pursuit of them. The remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river, in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime a large body of Indian warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, entered it without opposition, and very few of the French escaped the carnage. They afterwards built another fort on the same ground, which they called *Massacre*, in memory of this disastrous event, and which retained the name of *Fort Massac*, after it had passed into the hands of the American government.

CHAPTER IV.

SETTLEMENTS ON THE OHIO.

It is not our design to trace the footsteps of the pioneers through all their wanderings, to depict their personal adventures, or to describe their various conflicts with the savage tribes. These minute details, however interesting, must be left to other hands. We shall only attempt a rapid summary of a few prominent events.

We have no means of ascertaining how the early English colonists became impressed with a sense of the importance of the country west of the mountains, or what was the extent of their knowledge. It was probably derived chiefly from the French, who were not solicitous to publish their discoveries, and came with all the vagueness of rumor, and all the exaggerations of surmise. Certain it is, that a belief was entertained in Virginia, at a very early period, of the existence of a wide and fertile territory beyond the mountains; and the English governors cast a jealous eye at the movements of the French in that direction. In 1719, Law's celebrated Mississippi scheme was at the climax of its popularity, and this event, if no other had previously attracted notice, must have turned the attention of our ancestors to that region.

In a work entitled "The Present state of Virginia, by Hugh Jones, A. M. chaplain to the honorable assembly, and minister of Jamestown," printed in 1724, we find the following information:

"Governor Spotswood, when he undertook the great discovery of the passage of the mountains, attended with sufficient guard of pioneers and gentlemen, with sufficient stock of provisions, with abundant fatigue passed these mountaias, and cut his majesty's name in a rock upon the highest of them, naming it *Mount George;* and in complaisance, the gentlemen, from the governor's name, called the mountain next in height, *Mount Alexander*.

"For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horse-shoes (things seldom used in the lower part of the country, where there are few stones), upon which account the governor, upon their return, presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe (some of which I have seen studded with valuable stones, resembling the heads of nails), with this inscription on one side: *sic juvat transcendere montes;* and on the other is written, *the tramontane order*.

"This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture back, and make discoveries and new settlements; any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe, who can prove his having drunk his majesty's health upon Mount George."

These facts, the accuracy of which we have no reason to doubt, are very curious. One hundred years ago, the region that we inhabit was almost unknown, and entirely inaccessible to the inhabitants of Virginia. Governor Spotswood "undertook the great discovery," in a spirit of enterprise similar to that which prompted the ardent genius of Columbus; we can imagine the preparation, the pomp, pride, and

circumstance, which must have preceded and attended this novel enterprise. The colonial governor was no doubt arrayed in all the imposing insignia of vice-royalty. A body of pioneers preceded his march, guards surrounded his person, and a long train of pack-horses carried tents and provisions. The chivalrous gentry of Virginia pressed forward with a noble emulation, to share in the dangerous adventure. They had long looked towards the blue summits of the distant mountains, that lined their western frontier, with intense curiosity, and perhaps had ventured singly, or in small parties, to the bases of these rocky acclivities, which seemed to present an impassable barrier against the advance of civilized man. Now they came prepared to scale the ramparts of nature, to discover new lands, and to extend the empire of their king into new regions. "With abundant fatigue," they reached the summit of one of these ridges, and looked back in admiration upon the broad plains and wooded valleys of the *ancient dominion*. But we do not learn that they obtained a glimpse of the fertile west; and knowing as we now do, that the Alleghany chain consists of a number of parallel ridges, occupying a space of more than sixty miles in width, we suppose it probable that they did not penetrate far into these mountainous recesses. It is even possible that one of the lesser range, called the "Blue mountains," might have been the limit of their travels.

They little dreamed of the breadth, the length, and the resources, of the great valley whose verge they had approached; nor imagined that a region lay

beyond them, wrapped in the silent splendor of unbroken forests, which, in extent, beauty, and magnificence, far exceeded the territories which had previously been subdued by our ancestors, at so great an expenditure of life and wealth. They were perhaps not even aware that the French were even then building forts and villages, planting the grape, and playing the violin, upon the borders of the Mississippi. Still less could they foresee the changes which a century would produce; that great states would grow up beyond these mountains, upon which with so much triumph they drank his majesty's health — that stages and pleasure-carriages would be rapidly whirled over these Alpine precipices — and that fashionable parties would resort in crowds to watering places in the romantic valleys of the Alleghany chain.

In 1739, at the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, Spotswood, who was no longer governor, was placed at the head of the colonial troops of Virginia, and assured that his favorite project of occupying the regions watered by the Ohio, should be carried into immediate operation. Some preparations were made, and the spirit of adventure was again awakened in Virginia, but the death of Spotswood caused the enterprise to be abandoned.

The situation of Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio, and at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, was probably first noticed for its military, rather than its commercial advantages. When the French determined to establish a chain of posts from Canada to Louisiana, one of the

most important was *Fort Du Quesne*, situated at this point. It did not escape the military eye of Washington, when he visited this country several years before the revolution, on a mission from the government of Virginia; and, in his despatches, he spoke of its importance with a prophetic spirit. During the struggle, which is commonly called "Braddock's war," in 1755, Fort Du Quesne changed masters, and the English abandoning the original work, which was probably a mere stockade, built a more regular fortification on a site immediately adjoining, which they named *Fort Pitt*. This post, erected on a low point of land, and commanded by hills on every side, would appear to a soldier of the present day to have been untenable, and consequently useless; nor can the reasons of its original establishment, and subsequent importance, be ascertained, without recurring to the history of those times. As a place of deposit for military stores it possessed singular advantages, in the facilities which it afforded for their transportation, as there is no other spot from which they could have been distributed with equal celerity, or over so large an extent of country. Nor was its situation with regard to defence, so desperate as we might at first imagine. It is to be recollected, that in those days there was little or no artillery west of the mountains; and that it was considered as almost impossible to pass the Alleghany ridge with a carriage of any description. There was little reason to apprehend that any ordnance would be brought to assail the ramparts of that insulated fortress, which seemed destined to assert the sway of

Britain over a boundless wilderness. But, notwithstanding this imaginary security, the works, of which there are extensive ruins still visible, seem to have been built after the usual fashion of that period, and to have had the strength, as well as the form, of a regular fortification. A bomb-proof magazine was extant, a few years ago, in good preservation. This fort is said to have been built by Lord Stanwin, and to have cost the British government *sixty thousand pounds sterling*. As it would seem, by placing it at this exposed spot, that an attack by artillery was not apprehended; and as, if such an attack had been made, resistance would have been in vain, it is difficult to conceive what could have been the motives of the builders in giving it such strength and regularity. We must either suppose that their military habits prevailed over the better dictates of prudence, or that they intended to impress their Indian neighbors with an exalted opinion of their security and power. It is said, that shortly after the English took possession, the Indian traders built a row of fine brick houses, on the margin of the Alleghany, but that their foundations were sapped by the encroachments of the river; no vestige of them remains. About the year 1760, a small town was built near Fort Pitt, which contained nearly two hundred souls; but on the breaking out of the Indian war, in 1763, the inhabitants retired into the fort, and their dwellings were suffered to fall into decay. The British officers had some fine gardens here, called the "King's," and "Artillery gardens," and large orchards of choice fruit; the old inhabitants of the

present town recollect them; but there are now no remains cf these early attempts at luxury and comfort.

After Fort Pitt came into the possession of the Americans, it was occupied but for a short time, when the garrison was removed to a spot about a mile further up, on the Alleghany river, where a picket-work and block-houses were erected, and called *Fort Fayette*. This post was occupied by the United States' troops until the erection, within a few years past, of the arsenal, two miles further up.

Pittsburgh was first laid out in the year 1765; it was afterwards laid out, surveyed, and completed on its present plan, in 1784, by Colonel George Woods, by order of Tench Francis, Esq. attorney for John Penn, and John Penn, junior. The increase of the town was not rapid until the year 1793, in consequence of the inroads of the savage tribes, which impeded the growth of the neighboring settlements. The western insurrection, more generally known as the "Whisky War," once more made this the scene of commotion, and is said to have given Pittsburgh a new and reviving impulse, by throwing a considerable sum of money into circulation. Since that time it has increased rapidly, and a few years ago was erected into a city.

In 1765, John Carver explored the western country, confining himself chiefly to the regions in the vicinity of the northern lakes. He was a native of Connecticut, and a captain in the British army. After having spent two years and a half in dangerous and painful wanderings, and traveled seven thousand miles, he went to England with his family, in 1769,

indulging the expectation of being rewarded for his labors. But the difficulties then existing between Great Britain and her colonies, induced the former to suppress every thing that tended to give information of the power, wealth, and future prospects of this country; and Captain Carver obtained merely a reimbursement of the sums he had actually expended on his travels, on condition of delivering up the original journals to the Board of Trade. He took care, however, to keep a copy, which he published several years afterwards.

Lord Dunmore marched an army to the Ohio, near the mouth of the Kanawha, in 1774, and fought a bloody engagement with an Indian army, composed of the Shawanoe, Delaware, Mingo, and other tribes. This campaign is more usually known as "Lewis's Expedition," from a Virginia gentleman of that name, who was the active and conspicuous leader, although Dunmore was the nominal commander. The Indian force assembled here, was not less than a thousand warriors, a body more numerous than they have usually been able to collect at any one point against the whites. It was after this battle, that Logan, a chief of the Delawares, sent to Lord Dunmore the speech which has rendered his name so celebrated, and which is considered as one of the finest displays of eloquence upon record. Mr. Jefferson, who preserved this beautiful effusion of native feeling in his *Notes on Virginia*, has been accused of palming upon the world a production of his own, by those who had no other ground for the suspicion, than the force and feeling of the composition itself, and who forgot

that genuine eloquence is not the offspring of refinement. But all doubt on this subject has been long since removed, by the testimony of officers who were present when it was delivered, and who many years afterwards, remembered the impression made upon their minds by the affecting appeal of the unlettered chieftain. There are, however, strong reasons for the belief, that Logan himself was deceived as to the part supposed to have been taken by Colonel Cressap in the massacre of his family, and that some of Cressap's men, in retaliation for an attack made previously by the savages upon some traders, perpetrated this murder without his knowledge. Cressap, it is said, was not in the neighborhood at the time, and could not have known of the sudden broil which produced a catastrophe so deeply to be deplored.

CHAPTER V.

SETTLEMENTS ON THE OHIO.

It is a curious fact that the first explorers of this region, found no Indians settled upon the shores of the Ohio. Throughout the whole length of this beautiful river, not a single vestige of an Indian town is to be found. The aboriginal tribes, who are always at war, seem to have had regard chiefly to that state, in choosing the sites of their villages. For savages, situated as they were, the most commanding positions were those lying near the sources of large rivers, from which they could descend in their canoes to attack an enemy below them, while their own villages would be approached with difficulty, by canoes attempting to ascend against the stream. Where the head waters of two rivers approached, and flowed away in different directions, affording increased facilities for sending off hunting expeditions and war parties, a spot in contact with both streams possessed unusual advantages, and such places were generally occupied. But it will be seen, that for the same reasons, the shores of a large river like the Ohio, into which numerous tributaries of great size and length poured their waters, would be exposed, above all others, to the attacks of savage warfare, as they would be easily accessible from a variety of directions.

It is not known that any tribe was ever settled permanently in Kentucky; no ownership was exer-

cised in that region, and no exclusive title asserted to it, by any nation of Indians, when it was first visited by the whites. It was a common hunting ground for many tribes, who visited it from a great distance, roaming over its rich pastures during the season for taking game, and making it their temporary residence during a part of every year, for that purpose. It was also the great battle ground of the Indians, who met here in desperate conflict, either accidentally, when engaged in hunting, or by concert, in the mutual pursuance of a policy which induced them to carry their wars as far as possible from home. The name applied to it by the savages—*the dark and bloody ground*—is terribly significant of the sanguinary character of those conflicts, which rendered this region celebrated in the traditionary legends of that ferocious race. Whether any superstition invested the scenes of so many battles with a peculiar awe, and rendered the savage reluctant to reside here, where he might suppose the spirits of the fallen to be wandering, we have not the means of knowing; we are only informed of the fact that a tract of country the most luxuriant, the most abundant in game, and the most prolific in all the fruits, and the spontaneous productions of nature, which yield food, or other necessaries of life, to the wandering tribes, was an uninhabited wilderness.

Although the pioneers found the country unoccupied by a resident population, and might properly have taken possession, without violating any law of nations, or moral principle, yet it was precisely in that condition which rendered any attempt to settle

the land particularly dangerous. These boundless forests swarmed with parties of hostile savages, who resided too far from the settlements of the whites to fear their power, or to feel any wish to conciliate their friendship. Their own villages and families, were, as they supposed, too distant to be exposed to the danger of retaliation. They were abroad, unincumbered with property or dependents, and prepared for war; no delay was suggested by prudence, nor any time required for consultation. A hated race had intruded into the hunting grounds, for the possession of which they had long disputed among themselves, and with one accord, the arms of all were turned against the invaders.

The pioneers were few, they acted on their own responsibility, with the countenance merely, but not the aid of the government. In the whole history of the settlement of Kentucky, comprising a period of twenty years, neither men nor munitions were sent to these infant settlements. It was not until the Indians had been repeatedly beaten, and the power of our countrymen was completely established in Kentucky, that the government began to send troops to the west, and the names of Wilkinson, Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, are found in the annals of border warfare. And these officers acted chiefly on the western shores of the Ohio. Yet the pioneers were almost always successful in their battles, and the progress of the settlements was never stopped. They continued to increase steadily in numbers, and to spread gradually over the land. Although the warfare of the Indians was of the most unsparing char-

acter, accompanied with all the atrocities of the tomahawk, the firebrand, and the stake, the courage of the pioneers was never damped, and their conduct was equal to every emergency. Without detracting in the least from their merits, it may be inferred from some of the facts above stated, that the war against them was never conducted with much skill or concert. Both parties were far from any place which could afford supply or relief, and neither possessed the requisite facilities for any long sustained effort. The one party usually surprised the other, and the conflict was brief, sanguinary, and for the time, decisive.

We have alluded, in our introductory chapter, to the character of the pioneers, and the mode of the earliest emigration to Kentucky. We shall now extend these remarks as far only as is necessary to a complete elucidation of the subject.

There is a tradition that a person named McBride visited Kentucky, and cut his name on a tree at the mouth of Kentucky river, in 1754. If there is any truth in the rumor, it does not appear that he made any report which was believed, or by which others were induced to follow his adventurous footsteps.

In 1758, Doctor Walker, a gentleman of Virginia, led a small party to explore Powell's valley, east of the Laurel ridge, which he called Cumberland mountain. Receiving intelligence, from some source which is now not known, that the Ohio might be reached, at no great distance, by traveling in a northeastwardly direction, he proceeded on that

course until he came to Big Sandy river, having entirely missed the Ohio, and the fertile region of Kentucky. He returned home after a journey of prodigious labor, chiefly among the mountains; and his report was rather calculated to repress than to excite curiosity.

The first adventurer who is known to have penetrated through Kentucky to the Ohio, was John Finley, who, with a few companions, traversed this region in 1769. Of him, or his adventures, little is known. His account of the country—its extent, its fertility, the abundance of game, and the exuberance of the vegetation, were considered fabulous; and his name would probably have been lost, had it not become connected with that of Daniel Boone, to whom he acted as guide in a subsequent expedition.

Boone was a man of strongly marked character. There is no proof that he possessed great talents, or that he could have shone in any other station than that in which he was placed. His bodily vigor, his love of hunting, his courage, and his perfect equanimity of mind under every vicissitude of fortune, were the prominent points in his character; and his singular adventures, with the fact of his being the first successful explorer of this region, have rendered his name celebrated. He was not a misanthrope, who retired to the woods because he was disgusted with the world, but a man of social and benevolent feelings, of mild and unassuming manners, and of strict integrity. He was bold and daring, deeply imbued with the spirit of adventure, and gift-

ed with an uncommon share of that cool, indomitable courage, which can neither be daunted nor surprised, which is seldom excited into rashness or chilled into despondency, and which enables its possessor to act with calmness in every emergency.

We shall not recount the adventures of Boone, but barely allude to them. Inflamed with curiosity, by the accounts he had heard of the surpassing beauty and fertility of Kentucky, he determined to explore it, and in 1769, set out with one companion. They found the land filled with hostile Indians, against whom they were obliged to keep a continual guard. They wandered with stealthy steps by day, and at night crept into the most secret coverts for repose; practising the arts of savage life for subsistence, and the stratagems of savage warfare for protection. Superior to the Indians in their own mode of warfare, he succeeded in eluding, or in beating them, and continued to roam through these forests for *two years*. Once, himself and his companion were captured, and escaped; more than once, their camp was plundered; they were robbed of their arms and ammunition; his companion was killed; but still Boone was undaunted. His brother followed him, found him in the wilderness, supplied him with a gun and ammunition, and they wintered together in a cabin formed of poles and bark. In the spring of 1770, the brother returned to North Carolina, leaving Daniel Boone alone in the woods, the only white man in Kentucky. If any proof was wanting, of the ardor with which Boone pursued his designs, or the courage which he imparted to others, it would be found in this separation of the brothers;

the one singly undertaking a painful and dangerous journey, of several hundred miles, without a path or a guide, the other remaining alone in the midst of a wilderness, separated from the habitations of white men by a range of almost inaccessible mountains, and surrounded by thousands of enemies, who eagerly sought his life, and daily traced his footsteps with unwearied hostility. The intrepid pioneer continued to rove through the forest, subsisting upon game, and eluding the Indians by cunning devices, until the return of his brother, in the July of the same year; they explored the country together during the remainder of that year, again wintered in the wilderness, and in the spring of 1771, returned to their families.

If we are tempted to wonder at the former achievements of Boone, his next adventure must increase our admiration. In the autumn of 1773, he returned to Kentucky, *with his family*, accompanied by forty-two other persons. If formerly he was alone, he was also unincumbered; he now brought his furniture, farming implements, and cattle, and was surrounded by females and children. His party was too small to meet the enemy in open warfare; and it was too large, and too heavily burthened, to escape by flight or concealment. They advanced, however, with confidence, and had penetrated some distance into the wilderness, when they were attacked by a large party of Indians; and six of the emigrants, including the eldest son of Boone, were killed. The savages were beaten off, but the cattle of the whites were dispersed, and themselves so much disheartened, that they recrossed the mountains to the settlements on

Clinch river, where they remained until 1774. In the summer of that year, Boone, with one companion, penetrated to the falls of Ohio.

Having again carried his family to Kentucky, in 1775, the only permanent residence of Boone, for some years from this time, was at his "station," on Kentucky river; for such was the name which was given in the new settlements to the rude fortresses, to which the early emigrants resorted for protection. Other adventurers followed, and settled around him, looking up to him as their shield in danger, and at all times as their counsellor and guide. The savages continued to annoy them with unceasing hostility; sometimes laying siege to the fort, frequently attempting to surprise it, and continually lurking about in small parties, way-laying the hunters, assailing those engaged in agriculture, and capturing the females and children in sight of the fortress. We should exceed our limits, and unnecessarily shock the feelings of the reader, if we should detail all the achievements of Boone, the privations of himself and his companions, and the barbarities of their unrelenting foes. He continued to sustain himself in the midst of danger, displaying in every emergency, that consummate skill and patient courage, which elevated him above ordinary men; and distinguished by a gentleness of manners, and a benevolence of heart and action, which secured the affection of his friends, and won respect even from his ferocious enemies.

From this time the forests of Kentucky began to be rapidly peopled. The settlers came in small parties, and spread over the whole country, each little

colony erecting its own fort, and appointing its own leader. The Indians continued to harrass them. The latter were now more than ever inflamed with rage and jealousy against the Americans, by the arts of the British agents, who supplied them with arms and ammunition, bribed them to hostility by valuable presents, and poisoned their minds by incendiary speeches. The whole district of Kentucky exhibited scenes of bloodshed.

We must condense these events. The name of Boone is the most conspicuous among the pioneers, because he was the earliest adventurer to the shores of the Ohio, and continued longest to brave the perils of the forest. But there were others who were superior to him in education and strength of mind, and his equals in every other respect. Boone was remarkable for the perfect equanimity with which he bore every trial. Never greatly excited, he was never alarmed nor despondent. Others were allured to the wilderness by ambition or cupidity, in the pursuit of wealth, or lands, or fame; but he seems to have enjoyed the life of the pioneer, and to have dwelt in the woods from choice. Others hunted down the Indians with rancorous hatred; Boone only defended himself against their assaults, and never troubled his head about them while they let him alone. He was good humored, social, and disposed to live in quiet; love of peace, rather than fondness for war, made him a dweller on the frontier; and when the restraints of society pressed around him, when the cavils of the neighborhood became vexatious, or any other cause rendered his residence dis-

agreeable, his simple remedy was to plunge farther into the woods. He was abstemious in his habits, and a close observer of nature; and without any brilliancy or much grasp of intellect, he had a great deal of that practical good sense, which may be supposed to have existed in the mind of a person of even temperament, who thought much, spoke little, and acted with deliberation; whose whole life was a series of journeying, danger, and vicissitude, and whose vigilant eye was constantly employed in watching the appearances of nature, the habits of animals, the changes of the season, and the movements of hostile men. These are the characteristics of the backwoodsman; they were strongly developed in all those that accompanied or followed Boone, but in him they were less adulterated, because his mind was not distracted by the passions and cares that perplex other men.

In a subsequent chapter, when we come to speak of the character of the western population, we shall notice the peculiarities of this race, their arts, industry, and mode of life.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY CIVIL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

Previous to the year 1793, the whole of our western frontier was continually harrassed by the inroads of the Indians. Kentucky, then recently erected into a state, was a wide battle field, in which our gallant countrymen maintained themselves by a series of hardy exploits and patient sufferings. Gradually, however, the savages had been driven back or exterminated, until the river Ohio formed the grand line between them and the whites, and municipal regulations began to be introduced and enforced. Still there were large tracts of wilderness, lying between the settled districts, and within our acknowledged boundaries, where the marauding parties of the enemy lurked, and from which they emerged to attack the unwary traveler, or to assail the inhabitants who ventured to push their improvements into the forest, at a distance from the protection of the organized settlements. A series of brilliant successes, obtained by the Kentuckians, led by Boone, Scott, Shelby, Hardin, Clarke, and other veterans, had rendered the question of sovereignty no longer doubtful, and the white man was become undisputed lord of the soil. But the Indian, if he could not fight for victory, could still strike for revenge. He could no longer track the deer or the buffalo, in the rich pastures of Kentucky, or pitch his tent on the spot consecrated as the resting-place of his fathers, and rendered memora-

ble by the legends of his tribe. A race more numerous than his own, his equal in courage and sagacity, his superior in stature and military skill, now occupied the forests from which he had been driven, and were prepared to defend their newly acquired territory. The new inhabitants had long been trained in the school of war. They were hunters and warriors, of high courage and tried skill. Reared in habits of fearless enterprise, inured from childhood to exposure and hardship, and trained to all the devices of sylvan life, and all the stratagems of border warfare, they could overmatch the savage in his native fastnesses, and foil him in his own peculiar modes of attack and defence. The savage therefore mournfully extinguished his fires, and abandoned the hunting grounds of his people. But he retreated like the foiled tiger, scowling at his victor, and watching his opportunity to renew the contest. He went muttering curses against the white man; and long after his power was broken, and his tribe dismembered, he continued to return at intervals, to strike a stealthy but sanguinary blow, at his triumphant enemy.

The first settlements were not only exposed to the assaults of a savage foe, but they were separated from the mother states, by a wide chain of almost impassable mountains, and wholly cut off from the restraints and the protection of government. Instead of calling upon Virginia, or upon the general government, to protect them from their enemies, the pioneers defended themselves, and became early accustomed to rely upon their own courage and re-

sources. Every man looked to his personal safety, and stood prepared to sustain his neighbor, and to guard his own fireside. As the settlements extended, self-defence grew into patriotism; men united for mutual protection, and by standing side by side in battle, and rendering to each other assistance in sickness, in famine, and in all the varieties of fortune to which the inhabitants of the frontiers are exposed, became joined together by the closest ties. Thus they became kind and hospitable; and to the early impress given by these circumstances, more than to any other cause, may be attributed the generosity, frankness, and manly bearing, which still distinguish the Kentucky character.

In 1780, three counties were organized in the district of Kentucky, by the legislature of Virginia; civil and military officers were appointed; and those acts which had hitherto been voluntarily performed by private individuals, began to emanate from the body politic. It was not until the year 1794, when the Indians were signally defeated by General Wayne, on the western side of the Ohio, that peace was established on this frontier. But the country was far from being tranquil. A people accustomed to think and act for themselves, could feel little sense of dependence upon the parent state; their loyalty was voluntary, and resulted solely from sound principle and natural affection. A people thus independent, owing few obligations to the sovereign power, and surrounded by none of the restraints, and few of the blessings of the national government, would naturally think freely, and speak with bold-

ness, of the tie which bound them to the great republican family. They would easily be led to exercise their undoubted privilege, of weighing the advantages of the connection which bound them to their government, and a slight grievance might give to their thoughts and language the tone of bold defiance.

One of the earliest causes of complaint, to which the people of Kentucky were exposed, arose from their geographical position. The United States, newly organized, loosely connected, weak in resources, and burthened with debt, had sufficient employment in preserving the existence of the new confederacy. No settled policy had as yet been adopted, in reference to an extension of the territorial limits of the republic. The great mass of the American people knew nothing of the fertile regions of the west, and some of our statesmen announced authoritatively, that the Alleghany mountains formed the natural boundary of the United States.

While this delightful region was thus undervalued and neglected by our own politicians, foreign nations had early adopted in relation to it, certain views which were remarkably adapted to coincide with the policy of our government, in retarding its improvement. France alone had formed a reasonable estimate of its importance. The French commanders and missionaries had traced the long rivers of the west, and wandered with delight over its boundless prairies; and while they carefully concealed their discoveries from the rest of Europe, the French government made extensive arrangements for securing

this country to themselves. Having possession of Canada and Louisiana, they early formed the plan of seizing the intermediate territory, and of confining the English to the shores of the Atlantic.

The British government, on the other hand, was not only ignorant of the great resources of the interior of our continent, but was averse, from policy, to any great extension of her colonies in that direction. Mistress of the ocean, she could easily, by means of her great navy, and commercial marine, maintain her influence and enforce her sway over a people scattered along the sea-coast, and the navigable rivers of the Atlantic; while an agricultural population, growing up in the interior, would be less apt to value her friendship, or fear her power. At a later period, when the colonies had thrown off the yoke, the British cabinet, still hoping that our weakness or our dissensions, would afford to that government an opportunity to renew its usurpation, and rivet more closely than ever the chains of dependence, watched the early growth of our institutions with a vigilant eye, and endeavored to weaken our strength, by turning loose the savages upon our western frontiers. Determined to check the expansion of our territory in this direction, her agents traversed the whole region of the northern lakes, furnishing the tribes with arms, bribing them to hostility, and artfully inflaming their passions against the American people.

The Spanish government had also her views in relation to this country; and when she obtained a cession of Louisiana from France, was induced to be-

lieve that the whole valley of the Mississippi could be easily united under her sway.

Thus it happened, that this secluded region, so lately inhabited only by wild beasts and savage men, became the subject and the scene of deep laid political intrigues.

Great Britain, jealous of the United States, and sore from the effects of the recent conflict, continued to hold several important forts in our western territory, long after she had agreed by treaty to surrender them. Here her agents received the Indians, supplied them with arms, and incited them to war; using covertly, every expedient to harrass the new settlements, and to force the emigrants to recross the mountains. Mistress of the ocean, and of Canada, and having a navy which could command the entrance of the Mississippi, the British cabinet did not relinquish the hope, that this interior region might at some future day, if not in the meanwhile occupied by a hardy race of freemen, be placed under her control, affording her the means of assailing the United States in the rear, as well as upon the sea-coast, in case of a future war, or of any dissension among ourselves.

France and Spain, both owning islands in the West Indies, and having colonial possessions on the continent of North America, saw with distrust the territorial limits of the United States extended by treaty and by conquest, beyond the mountains. They had assisted us in our contest with Great Britain, from enmity to that power; and having seen a rival stripped of a rich appendage, were satisfied with the re-

sult. But they had no disposition to aid in the rearing up of a great republican nation; nor were they willing to see its settlements spreading over the western valley, and coming in juxtaposition with their own. While the inhabitants of Kentucky were few, and their ability to maintain themselves in the wilderness uncertain, these views were only incidentally developed in some of the negotiations of these powers with our government; but events occurred in the west, which at length produced more decisive action.

In 1784, certain demonstrations on the part of the Indian tribes, induced a general belief in Kentucky, that an extensive league had been formed among the savages, with a view to a simultaneous attack of the settlements, at several different points; while the detention of the posts by the British, suggested the suspicion that they were acquainted with the design, and were about to aid in its execution. The population had now increased, but was widely scattered; and it was found more difficult to produce the concerted action required for the public defence, than formerly, when the number of people was small, and the leaders few. In this emergency, Colonel Logan, a distinguished pioneer, took upon himself the responsibility of calling a meeting of such citizens as might choose to attend, at Danville, for the purpose of devising means for the general security.

The meeting was effected, and the result of the consultation was an unanimous opinion that the danger was imminent, and that the surest method of repelling the threatened mischief would be to antici-

pate the enemy, by attacking them in their own towns. But this conclusion led to another difficulty. There was no authority competent to order an expedition, to call out men, or to provide them with arms and ammunition. A few counties were organized, under the jurisdiction of Virginia; but the government of that state, or of the United States, only, could exercise a power sufficient for the emergency. A few years before, the voluntary action of an enterprising leader, with a few brave men, in defence of a settlement, was an every day occurrence; the number to be protected was small, the service brief, and the means easily controled. But now there was a wide territory exposed; the inhabitants were numerous, and some of them strangers to the rest; the proposed expedition was to carry them into the enemy's country, and detain them long from home; there was no magazine of arms, no ammunition, no money belonging to the public. The consequence was, that after coming to the determination that defensive measures were necessary, the meeting dispersed without making any military preparation. In the event, the alarm appears to have been groundless, for the Indians made no attack within that year. Another result, however, of much consequence, was produced by this meeting. The absolute necessity of a local government was made manifest; and resolutions were passed, recommending to the people the election of representatives, to meet in a convention to be held at Danville, in the December of the same year, to concert measures for the public defence. A convention was held accordingly, in which it was

resolved, to petition the legislature of Virginia, to sanction the erection of the district of Kentucky into a separate state.

There was some difference of opinion in relation to the expediency of this measure; it was opposed by some, out of mere attachment for Virginia, by others, from a disrelish for a change, which might produce unforeseen embarrassments, and by many, who dreaded a separation from the parent state, as a sure forerunner of separation from the Union. The distant and detached position of these settlements, has already been alluded to; they were divided from the Atlantic states by mountains, over which it was not deemed practicable to carry roads sufficiently good for the purposes of commerce, while on the west they were hemmed in by an enemy, from whom they must defend themselves by their own unassisted valor. Their dependence upon the Union, seemed to be but nominal; it gave them no strength, and afforded them no protection. They were now beginning to raise produce for exportation, without any prospect of a market for its disposal. The only natural outlet, the river Mississippi, was in the possession of a foreign government, which denied them the right of navigating that stream; while the American government, having no power of coercion, and little national influence, seemed both unable and indisposed, to secure for its citizens in the west, by negotiation or otherwise, the advantages of that navigation. With these, and other latent causes of discontent, there soon grew up a variety of opinions, and several distinct parties; one advocating the erec-

tion of a new state, to be a member of the Union, another hinting at the scheme of an independent government, and a third deprecating both these plans, as one might lead to the other, and preferring to remain for the present under the jurisdiction of Virginia.

From this time up to 1792, when Kentucky became a state, conventions continued to be held, memorials were addressed to the Virginia legislature, and a continued excitement was kept alive on the question of separation. In the meanwhile, rumors of a design, on the part of congress, to cede the right of navigating the Mississippi to Spain, reached this country, and greatly agitated the public mind; and this absorbing topic became mingled with every discussion in relation to the forming of a state government.

An incident may be mentioned here, to show the excitable state of the public mind in these early times, and the various causes of irritation to which it was exposed. The noted Tom Paine had written a book, to prove that Virginia had no claim, by her charter, to the territory west of the mountains, and advising Congress to take possession of the new lands, in behalf of the Union. A person appeared at Lexington, supposed to be an emissary from—nobody knew who—but who probably was some chance traveler, aiming at a little notoriety, and who ventured to advocate the doctrines of Paine in a public speech. The indignant people called upon a magistrate to arrest the propagator of such arrant heresy, as a disturber of the peace. There was no

law to justify such a proceeding; but an old Virginia statute was discovered, which imposed a fine, payable in tobacco, upon the "*propagators of false news*," and the offender was convicted by acclamation, and fined *a thousand pounds of tobacco.* Being unable to pay the fine, and unwilling to go to jail, he was released by the people, on the condition that he should leave the country.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SPANISH AND FRENCH CONSPIRACIES.

It is difficult to compress into a work like this, the details of a transaction, which caused great uneasiness to the early settlements, and which is too important to be passed over in silence. No sooner did Spain observe the movements in Kentucky, towards the establishment of a separate government, and the discontents of the people, in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi, than she commenced a series of intrigues with the leading men of that region, for the purpose of detaching this district from the Union.

In 1786, Colonel Wilkinson (since General Wilkinson), who had been two or three years settled in Kentucky, began to appear as a conspicuous politician, and was one of those who advocated the erection of an independent government. He was soon pronounced to be a pensioner of Spain, and an agent of that government, but with how much justice, we are not now able to determine. The people either did not believe the report, or considered the offence one of no great magnitude, for he was repeatedly elected by them to a seat in their conventions.

In 1788, Mr. Brown, an inhabitant of Kentucky, a personal and political friend of Wilkinson, and a delegate from Virginia to the congress then sitting at New York, wrote to a friend as follows: "In private conferences whch I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, I have been as-

sured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege can never be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe." This letter was addressed to Mr. Muter, one of the judges of Kentucky.

Mr. Innis, the attorney of the United States for the Kentucky district, in a letter to the president, about the same time, uses this language: "I am decidedly of opinion, that this western country will in a few years act for itself, and erect an independent government; for under the present system we cannot exert our strength; neither does congress seem disposed to protect us."

These indications were succeeded by operations which rendered the designs of the Spanish government too palpable to be mistaken. General Wilkinson made a voyage to New Orleans, and on his return, announced that he had effected a contract with the governor, by which the exclusive privilege had been granted to him, of supplying that market with tobacco from Kentucky. The trade in this article, was at that time a monopoly in the hands of the king, and the port was not open for the reception of any produce from the territories of the United States; so that the privilege granted to Wilkinson was one of great favor, and much pecuniary

value. He immediately advertised that he would purchase all the tobacco that was raised in Kentucky; and he continued for several years to make large shipments. In the meanwhile, messengers were passing between himself and the Spanish governor, and large sums of money were known to be transmitted from New Orleans to Kentucky; events which were explained by Wilkinson as connected with his tobacco speculation, while they were suspected by the public to be parts of the machinery of a great political intrigue, involving the peace of the country.

At a later period, a person named Thomas Power, a subject of Spain and an emissary of the Spanish government, visited the western country, and had frequent interviews with Wilkinson, and some other influential gentlemen. The persons chiefly implicated, were Wilkinson, Brown, Innis, and Sebastian. The particulars are interesting, but too voluminous to be given in this volume; nor can they be condensed without injustice to those who were concerned in them, whose motives should be taken in connection with their acts, and for whose conduct an apology may be found in the distracted state of the country, and in other circumstances to which we have alluded. It is our intention to give this subject a full consideration in another work.

In 1793, shortly after the arrival of M. Genet, in the United States, as minister from the French Republic, a plan was organized by that factious diplomatist, to embroil the western people with the Spaniards, and four emissaries, whose names were La-

chaise, Depeau, Mathurin, and Gregnon, were despatched to Kentucky. They were furnished with military commissions, and full powers from the French government, for the purpose of raising an army, with which to invade the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi; a measure, which it was hoped would involve the government of the United States, and force her into a war with Spain. The openness with which these agents proceeded, is quite apparent in the easy impudence of the following letter from one of them to Governor Shelby, in which the writer's facility in the use of the English language, seems to be about equal to his knowledge of the people.

"*Citizen Governor*,—It may appear quite strange to write to you on a subject in which although it is of some consequence.

"With confidence from the French ambassador, I have been despatched, in company with more Frenchmen, to join the expedition of the Mississippi.

"As I am to procure the provision, I am happy to communicate to you, whatever you shall think worthy of my notice, or in which your advice may be of use to me, as I hope I have in no way disoblige you; if I have, I will most willingly ask your pardon. For nobody can be no more than I am willing for your prosperity and happiness.

"As some strange reports has reached my ears that your excellence has positive orders to arrest all citizens inclining to our assistance, and as my remembrance know by your conduct, in justice you will satisfy me in this uncommon request.

"Please let me know, as I shall not make my

supply till your excellence please to honor me with a small answer.

"I am your well-wisher in remaining for the French cause, a true citizen democrat.

"CHARLE DEPEAU.

"*Postcript.*—Please to participate some of these handbills to that noble society of democrats."

A number of persons were induced to engage in this enterprise; a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, received a commission as "Major General in the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi," and many preliminary arrangements were made for the anticipated campaign. The government of the United States became apprized of these measures, and promptly interfered. General Wayne, then at the head of the troops west of the Ohio, took measures to observe the motions of the French emissaries, and Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation, in which the people of the northwestern territory were advised to abstain from any participation in these illegal proceedings.

In glancing hastily at these events, we are cheered with the instructive lesson which they teach. There have been several instances in the history of our country, when disaffection has broken out into murmur and menace; in every instance, men of talent have been found among the ambitious fomenters of discord; but the good sense and integrity of the people, has invariably been found sufficient to protect them from being seduced into rebellion. Of all such events, those to which we have just alluded, afford

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perhaps the most decided proofs of incorruptible loyalty and patriotism. If ever there was a people, who, in the choice of a government, had a right to act precisely as suited their own convenience, the pioneers were entitled to that privilege. They had conquered a country for themselves. The government did not extend to them either civil protection, military assistance, or pecuniary aid. They are the only first settlers, who neither violated the rights of the Indian, by taking his land by violence, nor expended money in its purchase. They found it without an owner, overrun by savage hunters and war parties, whose conflicting claims were no better than their own. They purchased it with blood and labor. Years were spent in painful marches, and midnight vigils, in hewing down the gigantic forest, exterminating the wolf and the panther, and in guarding against the wiles of the savage. Through every peril, through all discouragement, they persevered unaided. The government could not aid them; when the settlement of Kentucky commenced, she was herself engaged in the war for independence; at a later period, she had just passed through that contest, and remained an exhausted, breathless victor.

The settlers of Kentucky had not only been unaccustomed to the protection or restraints of government, but there was some reason to believe, that the federal jurisdiction could never be efficiently extended over them. The mountains formed then a line of separation which seemed insurmountable. The hunter crossed them with much toil, and the enterprising trader conducted his train of pack-horses

with difficulty and long delay over their steep acclivities; but the idea of a frequent, easy, and cheap method of intercourse, was not entertained nor deemed possible.

Inhabiting a rich country, destined to become populous, and to yield the products of the earth in abundance, they naturally looked around them for a market. The mountains separated them from the marts of their countrymen on the sea-coast; to the north were the lakes and the possessions of Great Britain; the western frontier was lined with hostile savages, with whom they could not hope to carry on any profitable traffic; to the west, the Spaniards, living under a rigid system of commercial non-intercourse, closed their markets forever against foreigners. The noble river that swept their shores, and seemed destined by Providence as the great highway by which the dwellers in this region should seek the ocean, was shut against them.

The right to navigate the Mississippi, became early a theme of animated discussion in Kentucky, and the subject of urgent remonstrances to the government. The government hesitated and temporized; surrounded with the cares and perils which assailed the infancy of our national institutions, the small still voice from the distant wilderness, fell faintly upon the executive ear. When the language of expostulation and defiance became loud, it was drowned in the dissensions of party violence; for by this time, the French revolution had broken out; political divisions had sprung up in our country; two great parties were contending for power; and the complaints of the

Kentuckians were attributed to the disorganizing zeal of partisans.

Let it be remembered too, that this was a period peculiarly propitious to the work of revolution. The American colonies had just separated from the mother country; the people were become familiar with the discussion of political rights, and accustomed to think for themselves. That reluctance with which men regard a change of government, and which induces them to submit to evils which are known, rather than plunge darkly into such as are unseen, had been dispelled by recent events; there was an excitement in the public mind, an awakened energy in the tone of thought, which had prepared the people for decisive action in any case demanded by their interests, and justified by their notions of moral or political honesty. At such a period, Spain held out a tempting bait to the enterprising settlers of the west. She offered them a free navigation of the Mississippi, and a market at New Orleans, upon the condition of their erecting an independent western republic; but the affections of the western people could not be thus alienated from their own countrymen; they could not be bribed to dissolve their connection with those to whom they were bound by the ties of consanguinity and honor, or to abandon, in its infancy and weakness, a government to which they owed nothing but the voluntary homage of respect and preference.

The offers of the French government were still more alluring. They were invited to invade the Spaniards, against whom they were exasperated by

a long continued and unjust denial of their right to the navigation of the Mississippi. The friendship and pecuniary aid of a powerful nation, was tendered to their acceptance. The city of New Orleans, and the fertile province of Louisiana, with its genial climate and varied productions, were within the reach of their grasp. The whole of the broad valley of the west lay before them, with its hundred rivers and its mighty resources; and the glory of building up a new empire in this delightful region, was held up in dazzling splendor before their eyes. Still they remained true to their country and their principles. In the retrospect of these affairs, it should not be forgotten, that they succeeded the termination of the revolutionary war. Thousands of soldiers had just been disbanded, and were destitute of employment. A vast number of young gentlemen had entered the revolutionary armies, at an age usually appropriated to the choice of a profession, and the acquirement of the knowledge and habits requisite for some civil pursuit; they had spent years in the military profession, imbibed a thirst for fame, and acquired a love for the vicissitudes of war. Their occupation was now gone; they were too old to commence a course of professional study, and they had no tastes which suited them for the quiet pursuits of industry. Many of these gentlemen had emigrated to the west, and others were still unsettled. To such persons, the temptation of military service, the allurement of ambitious prospects, the wide field of enterprise opened in brilliant perspective before them, must have been in the highest degree inviting.

But they had the forbearance to resist the dangerous incitement—the patriotism to prefer the peace and honor of their country to their own fame and interest.

When we consider these transactions in connection with others which have subsequently occurred, and pass in sober review the various occasions on which a portion of our people have been goaded into momentary disaffection, by a pressure of affairs which has exasperated their feelings or blighted their interests; when we remark how often our country has been threatened with disunion, and how portentously the storm of discord has lowered, until it seemed ready to burst upon our heads, and reflect how invariably our fears have proved delusive—how beautifully and tranquilly the clouds of rebellion have passed away, and the sun of peace shone out in quiet glory, we are led to the conclusion, that there are inherent ties of reason and affection entwined in the fabric of our society, which bind it indissolubly together.

CHAPTER VIII.

BURR'S CONSPIRACY.

In the year 1806, the western country began to be again disturbed by the machinations of political agitators. An event has seldom occurred, so intrinsically insignificant in its result, which has created so great a sensation as the conspiracy of Burr; which, indeed, derives its consequence principally from the celebrity of the names attached to it, and the ignorance of the world as to its final object. Burr was the rival of Hamilton; Hamilton the friend of Washington—his military aid, his political adviser, his social companion—equally eminent as a soldier, an orator, a writer, a financier, and a lawyer. The man who could make Hamilton experience, or even counterfeit,

> "The stern joy that warriors feel,
> In foemen worthy of their steel,"

must have stood far above mediocrity. Colonel Burr was the son of a gentleman eminent for his learning and piety, for many years president of the most celebrated college in America; and was himself a man of transcendent genius, and great attainments. He was remarkable for the elegance of his manners, the seductiveness of his address, the power and sweetness of his eloquence; but more so, perhaps, for the boldness and energy of his mind. Burr had contended unsuccessfully with Jefferson for the presidential chair, which he lost by a single vote; but

while he filled the second place in point of dignity, few at that time would have assigned him an inferior station in point of talents.

The duel between Hamilton and Burr filled the nation with astonishment and grief—grief for the death of a great and useful man, and astonishment at the delusion which occasioned it. Burr, with the corpse of Hamilton at his feet, might have felt the triumph of conquest; but it was a momentary flush; the laurels of the hero, watered by the tears of his country, retained their verdure; and even those who might have rejoiced at his political fall, execrated the destroyer of his existence.

Shortly after this bloody catastrophe, the conduct of Burr began again to excite the attention of the public. He had resigned his former employments, forsaken his usual haunts, and was leading an erratic and mysterious life. He frequently traveled *incognito*, performed long and rapid journeys, and remained but a short time at any one place. This restlessness was attributed to uneasiness of mind, and many began to sympathise with him whom they supposed to be thus tortured with the stings of conscience. But whatever might have been the workings of his mind, he soon evinced that its fire was not quenched, nor its ambition sated. He was now seen traversing the western wilds, eagerly seeking out the distinguished men of that country, particularly those who possessed military experience, or had hearts alive to the stirring impulses of ambition.

These indications were quickly succeeded by others of a more decided character. Secret as his inten-

tions were, the first movement towards their execution awakened suspicion. The assembling of men and collecting munitions of war, roused the government to action. Burr was arrested—his plans defeated, his adherents dispersed, and his reputation blasted. He became an exile and a wanderer; and after years of suffering, returned to his native land, to become an insignificant member of that bar, of which he had been among the highest ornaments — an obscure citizen of that country over whose councils he had presided; and to add another to the list of splendid men who have been great without benefit to themselves or others, and whose names will be preserved only

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

He was entirely abandoned. Never was a man more studiously avoided, more unanimously condemned. The voice of eulogy was silent, the breath of party was hushed. Of the many who had admired and loved him, none ventured to express their love or admiration. One fatal act of folly, or of crime, had obscured all the brilliance of a splendid career; and, although acquitted of treason by a court of justice, a higher tribunal, that of public opinion, refused to reverse the sentence which consigned him to disgrace.

Such was the fate of Burr; but his plans are yet enveloped in mystery. A descent upon some part of Spanish America, and the establishment of an independent government, has been stated to have been the object; but it is alleged, that a separation of the western states from the Union, formed a part of the

project. The latter charge rests almost entirely upon the evidence of General Eaton, a gentleman whose chivalrous disposition led him through many singular adventures, and whose history, as recorded by himself, presents a more favorable picture of his heart and genius than of his judgment. He was a man of warm temperament, who adopted hasty and vivid impressions from the impulse of the moment. From his testimony, I should be inclined to believe, that Colonel Burr had cherished some vague ideas respecting a disjunction of the Union; but it does not appear that those speculations were ever matured into any settled plan, or confided to his adherents. I am led to this conclusion, by the characters of Colonel Burr and the gentlemen who were implicated with him in his disastrous expedition. Burr was a man of extended views, a close observer of men and manners; and it is not to be presumed, that he would have lightly embraced a scheme so fraught with treason, madness and folly. He knew the American people well. He had studied them with the eye of a statesman, and with the intense interest of an ambitious political aspirant. His rank in society, his political station, and his extensive practice at the bar, threw open a wide and varied scene to his observation, and exhibited his countrymen to him in a variety of lights and shades.

Nor was Burr the man upon whom such opportunities would be lost. To him, the avenues of the huhuman heart were all familiar, and he could penetrate with ease into its secret recesses. To study man was his delight—to study his countrymen his business.

Could he then have been a stranger to their intelligence, their sense of honor, their habits of calculation, and their love for their republican institutions? Could he expect to transform at once, the habits, feelings, tastes, and morals of a people conspicuous for their courage and political integrity?—for such are the people of the western states. It has been supposed, and with some plausibility, that his hopes were founded on the dissatisfaction evinced by the western people, at the time of the discussion of our right to navigate the Mississippi. It is true, that the rude and unprovoked violation of our privileges on that river by Spain, excited an universal burst of indignation throughout the Union. It is also true, that this feeling was most warmly displayed in the west. In the Atlantic states, the insult was felt as implicating our national honor; in the west, it was a matter of vital importance to all, and of personal interest to every individual, and as such it came *home to men's business and bosoms*. The Mississippi was the natural outlet, and New Orleans the mart for the produce of the west; and when that market, to which they believed they had an indefeasible right of access, was barred to them, it was but the natural and common impulse of the human mind, which induced a people, at all times proud, impetuous, and tenacious, to call for vengeance and redress, with a sternness and impatience commensurate with their injuries. The conciliatory spirit and tardy policy of Mr. Jefferson, neither satisfied their feelings, nor suited their exigencies; and they were willing to impute to tameness in the executive, or to a disregard

for their interests, that which might have been the result of national weakness or mistaken policy. Believing themselves to be abandoned by the general government, they felt it a duty to protect their own invaded rights; and if the government had not interposed with effect, they would doubtless have drawn the sword—against whom? the government? No, but against the common enemy. In this there was no treason nor disaffection—no estrangement from their sister states, no breach of faith with the government, nor violation of the compact. It was saying only to their federal head—"defend us, or we will defend ourselves."

If Colonel Burr expected to fan these feelings into rebellion, he had either more boldness or less wisdom, than has commonly been placed to his credit; and had he openly avowed this project, he would have called down upon his head the imprecations of a people, who, if they had spared his life, would not have forgiven so foul an insult to their virtue and understanding. But let us ask who were the adherents of Colonel Burr? Who were they who were to share his fortunes, to reap with him the proud laurels of successful valor, or the infamy of foul rebellion? Were they persons of obscure name and desperate fortune, or were they men of good blood and fair fame? These questions are embarrassed with some uncertainty, because most of the gentlemen who have been accused of adhering to Colonel Burr, have denied the fact; and I wish not to assume any thing as a fact, on this delicate subject, which is, or has been controverted. But it is not denied that

many "prosperous gentlemen" were engaged in this enterprise; and many others suspected, with a belief so strong as to amount almost to certainty; and among these were men whom the people have since exalted to the most important trusts, and confided in with the most implicit reliance. Among them were men of high standing, who had reputations to be tarnished, fortunes to be lost, and families to be embarrassed; and many high-souled youths, whose proud aspirings after fame could never have been gratified amid the horrors of a civil war and the guilty scenes of rebellion.

It is argued against these gentlemen, that they have uniformly denied their connexion with Burr, which it is supposed they would not have done had they known his designs to be innocent. But this I do not conceive to be a fair argument. The united voice of the whole nation had declared Burr to be a traitor, and his adherents shared the obloquy which was heaped upon their misguided leader. Even admitting their innocence, or their own belief of it, still it would have been a hopeless task for this handful of men to oppose their feeble asseverations to the "voice potential" of a whole people. Many of them, also, were candidates for office, and they found the avenues to preferment closed by the anathemas pronounced by the people against all who were concerned in what they believed to have been rank conspiracy. They might, therefore, have bent to the current which they could not stem.

Blannerhasset was an Irish gentleman of easy fortune—a man devoted to science, who retired from

the world, in the hope of finding happiness in the union of literary and rural occupation. He selected this island as his retreat, and spared no expense in beautifying and improving it. He is described as having been retired in his habits, amiable in his propensities, greatly addicted to chemical studies, and a passionate lover of music. In this romantic spot, and in these innocent pursuits he lived; and, to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to have been lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that could render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of her children. But Blannerhasset, in an evil hour, became acquainted with Burr—he imbibed the poison of his ambition, became involved in his intrigues, and shared his ruin—a ruin as complete, desolate, and hopeless, as his former state had been serene and bright.

Whatever were Burr's intentions, it is certain that they embraced schemes so alluring, or so magnificent, as to win the credulous Blannerhasset from the abstraction of study and the blandishments of love. This island became the centre of operations. Here arms were deposited and men collected; and here, assembled round their watch-fires, young gentlemen, who "had seen better days," and "sat at good men's feasts," endured all the rigors of the climate and the privations of a campaign, rewarding themselves in anticipation, with the honors of war and the wealth of Mexico. Burr and Blannerhasset were the master spirits who planned their labors; Mrs. Blannerhasset was the light and life of all

their social joys. If treason matured its dark designs in her mansion, here also the the song, the dance, and the revel displayed their fascinations. The order of arrest was the signal of dispersion to this ill-fated band; and it is said, that the lovely mistress of this fairy scene, the Calypso of this enchanted isle, was seen at midnight, "shivering on the winter banks of the Ohio," mingling her tears with its waters, eluding by stratagem the ministers of justice, and destitute of the comforts of life, and the solace of that hospitality which she had once dispensed with such graceful liberality.

I believe it is not doubted, that Burr intended to have attempted the conquest of Mexico. A large portion of the people of that country, were supposed to be waiting only for a favorable opportunity to throw off the Spanish yoke. The Americans, as their neighbors, and as republicans, would, it was thought, be received without suspicion; nor would Burr have unfolded his ultimate design, until it should be too late to prevent its accomplishment. He would then have established a monarchy, at the head of which would have been King Aaron the First. I am told, that the young gentlemen who were proceeding to join him, often amused themselves on this subject; talking, half in jest and half in earnest, of the offices and honors which awaited them. Titles and places were already lavishly distributed in anticipation; and Mrs. Blannerhasset, who was an accomplished and sprightly woman, had arranged the dresses and ceremonies of the court. When the alarm was given, and orders were issued for the arrest of Burr

and his adherents, they were obliged to resort to a variety of expedients to escape detection. At Fort Massac, and other places, all boats descending the river were compelled to stop and undergo strict examination, to the great vexation of boatmen and peaceable voyagers, who were often obliged to land at unseasonable hours. Very diligent inquiry was made for the lady just mentioned, who several times narrowly escaped detection, through her own ingenuity and that of her companions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS.

Passing in rapid review the period over which we have passed, we find that the district of Kentucky was settled by several distinct classes of people, differing much from each other, and each having a marked peculiarity of character. It is from not knowing, or not adverting to this circumstance, that erroneous impressions have been received of the genius and disposition of the western people; to the manners of all of whom, the Kentuckians have given a decided tone.

Those who came first—the Boones, the Kentons, the Whitleys—were rough, uneducated men; the enterprising, fearless, hardy pioneers. They were literally backwoodsmen, who had always resided on the frontiers, forming the connecting link between civilized and savage men; and who did not, in their emigration to the west, form any new acquaintance with the perils of the wilderness. They had been inhabitants of the long line of frontier lying east of the Alleghany mountains; were the descendants of men, whose lives had been spent in fierce contests with the Indians; and were themselves accustomed from infancy, to the vicissitudes of hunting and border warfare. A few of them came from Pennsylvania and Maryland, but the great body from Virginia and North Carolina. Strictly speaking, they were not farmers; for, although they engaged in

agriculture, they depended chiefly on their guns for subsistence; and were allured to the west, rather by the glories of the boundless forest and the abundance of game, than by the fertility of the new lands and the ample resources of the country. They came singly or in small parties, careless of protection and fearless of consequences. Their first residence was a *camp;* a frail shelter formed of poles and bark, carefully concealed in some retired spot, in which they hid the spoils of the chase, and to which they sometimes crept for repose at night, or slept away the long inclement days, when the hunter and his prey were alike driven by the storm to seek the shelter of their coverts. At other times, they roamed abroad, either engaged in hunting, or in making long journies of exploration; sleeping in the open air, and feeding upon the fruits of the forest and the flesh of wild animals, without bread or condiment. Between them and the Indians, there seems to have existed, from the beginning, a mutual dislike and distrust; and except when there happened to be a great superiority of numbers on one side, or a recent provocation, they rather avoided than sought each other. But they seldom met without shedding blood.

The stratagems of this border warfare, were ingenious, and often highly amusing. The pioneer, as well as the Indian warrior, felt as much triumph in deceiving his enemy by a successful device, as in conquering him in battle; and usually acquired more lasting fame among his comrades, from the former than from the latter exploit; for in the circumstances under which they were mutually placed, cunning was

a more valuable quality than courage. The bravest man might be overpowered by numbers, or slain by a bullet from the rifle of an unseen foe; but the wily hunter, who was always watchful, self-possessed, and fertile of expedients, seemed to bear a charmed life, and to be proof, as well against secret hostility as open violence. We read with an admiration bordering upon incredulity, of the adventures of such men as Boone and Kenton—of their fights, their retreats, their captivity, their escapes, their recovery from dreadful wounds, their wanderings without arms and provisions, and their surviving through all, to die of old age in their beds; almost realizing the description of the apostle, "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

The pioneers were often captured; and while on the march towards the Indian towns, were rescued by their friends, or succeeded in making their escape, although bound and closely watched. Sometimes they were carried to the villages of the captors; endured with heroic calmness all the tortures which savage cruelty could invent; and at last escaped by some ingenious stratagem, or were forcibly rescued, even at the stake, by their daring comrades. Often did a single individual, escaping from captivity, unarmed and lacerated with wounds and stripes, retreat for hundreds of miles before a pursuing party of en-

raged savages; foiling their skill by superior ingenuity, or outstripping them in the mere exertion of muscular power. Sometimes they disguised themselves in the skins of wild beasts, to decoy the foe; and in making signals to each other, they imitated the notes of birds and the various cries of the forest. In several instances, the crews of boats descending the Ohio, have been allured to the shore and slain, by Indians crawling on the beach, covered with the skins of bears; and the garrisons of our forts, have more than once been deceived by similar devices.

An anecdote is told of Boone, which is highly characteristic of the humor and the coolness of the pioneer. He was once resting in the woods, with a small number of followers, when a large party of Indians came suddenly upon them and halted—neither party having discovered the other until they came in contact. The whites were eating; and the Indians, with the ready tact for which they are famous, sat down with perfect composure and commenced eating also. It was obvious that they wished to lull the suspicions of the white men, and to seize a favorable opportunity for rushing upon them. Boone affected a careless inattention; but in an under tone, quietly admonished his men to keep their hands upon their rifles. He then strolled towards the Indians, unarmed, and leisurely picking the meat from a bone; the Indian leader, who was similarly employed, rose to meet him. Boone saluted him, and then requested to look at the knife with which the Indian was cutting his meat. The chief handed it to him without hesitation; and our pioneer, who, with his other accomplishments,

possessed considerable expertness at sleight of hand, deliberately opened his mouth and affected to swallow the long knife, which, at the same instant, he threw adroitly into his sleeve. The Indians were astonished; Boone gulped, rubbed his throat, stroked his body, and then, with apparent satisfaction, pronounced the horrid mouthful to be *very good*. Having enjoyed the surprise of the spectators for a few moments, he made another contortion, and drawing forth the knife, as they supposed, from his body, civilly returned it to the chief. The latter took the point cautiously between his thumb and finger, as if fearful of being contaminated by touching the weapon, and threw it from him into the bushes. The pioneer sauntered back to his party; and the Indians, instantly despatching their meal, marched off, desiring no farther intercourse with a man who could swallow a scalping-knife.

A singular manœuvre was practised by a party of Indians, who had stolen some horses on Elkhorn, in 1788. They were pursued by a superior number of Americans, for about twenty miles, and overtaken at a spot where they had halted to rest, in a brushy copse of wood. The whites came upon them suddenly, and the parties discovered each other simultaneously. The pursuers made preparations to fire; the Indians sprang up from the ground, on which they were sitting, and gave a yell; but, instead of making any show of resistance, ran about as if distracted. One, who was probably the chief, threw himself between the two parties, and continued to scream and jump, dodging from side to side, spring-

ing aloft, and throwing his body into violent contortions. This strange exhibition, attracted the attention of the Kentuckians, and prevented them from firing; while the other Indians, gathering up their guns and blankets, disappeared—dispersing in various directions, so as to leave no trace and baffle pursuit. Lastly, the dexterous savage, perceiving that his comrades were so scattered as to be safe from immediate danger, suddenly threw off his feigned character, and dashing into the bushes made his escape, leaving a foe superior in numbers, bewildered with amazement at this extemporaneous display of ingenuity.

The females too, had "their exits and their entrances," in this bloody drama; and exercised their courage as well as their inventive powers, in the practice of strategy. A party of Indians approached a solitary log house, with the intention of murdering its inmates. With their usual caution, one of their number was sent forward to reconnoitre, who, discovering the only persons within to be a woman, two or three children, and a negro man, rushed in by himhimself and seized the negro. The woman caught up an axe, and with a single blow laid the savage warrior dead at her feet, while the children closed the door, and with ready sagacity employed themselves in fastening it. The rest of the Indians came up and attempted to force an entrance; but the negro and the children kept the door closed; and the intrepid mother, having no effective weapon, picked up a gun barrel, which had neither stock nor lock, and pointed it at the savages through the apertures

between the logs. The Indians, deceived by the appearance of a gun, and daunted by the death of their companion, retired.

Another incident which occurred at this early period, is worthy of recital, because it is not only deeply affecting in itself, but is highly illustrative of the sufferings of the first settlers. Among the adventurers, whom Boone describes as having reinforced his little colony, was a young gentleman named Smith, who had been a major in the militia of Virginia, and possessed a full share of the gallantry and noble spirit of his native state. In the absence of Boone, he was chosen, on account of his military rank and talents, to command the rude citadel, which contained all the wealth of this patriarchal band—their wives, their children, and their herds. It held also an object particularly dear to this young soldier—a lady, the daughter of one of the settlers, to whom he had pledged his affections. It came to pass, upon a certain day, when a siege was just over, tranquility restored, and the employments of husbandry resumed, that this young lady, with a female companion, strolled out, as young ladies in love are very apt to do, along the banks of the Kentucky river. Having rambled about for some time, they espied a canoe lying by the shore, and in a frolic, stepped into it, with the determination of visiting a neighbor on the opposite bank. It seems that they were not so well skilled in navigation as the *Lady of the Lake*, who "paddled her own canoe" very dexterously; for instead of gliding to the point of destination, they were whirled about by the stream, and at length thrown on a sand-

bar, from which they were obliged to wade to the shore. Full of the mirth excited by their wild adventure, they hastily arranged their dresses, and were proceeding to climb the banks, when three Indians, rushing from a neighboring covert, seized the fair wanderers and forced them away. Their savage captors, evincing no sympathy for their distress, nor allowing them time for rest or reflection, hurried them along during the whole day, by rugged and thorny paths. Their shoes were worn off by the rocks, their clothes torn, and their feet and limbs lacerated and stained with blood. To heighten their misery, one of the savages began to make love to Miss ——, (the *intended* of Major S.) and while goading her along with a pointed stick, promised, in recompense for her sufferings, to make her *his squaw*. This at once roused all the energies of her mind, and called its powers into action. In the hope that her friends would soon pursue them, she broke the twigs as she passed along, and delayed the party as much as possible by tardy and blundering steps. But why dwell on the heartless and unmanly cruelty of these savages? The day and the night passed, and another day of agony had nearly rolled over the heads of these afflicted females, when their conductors halted to cook a wild repast of buffalo meat.

The ladies were soon missed from the garrison. The natural courage and sagacity of Smith, now heightened by love, gave him the wings of the wind and the fierceness of the tiger. The light traces of female feet led him to the place of embarkation—the canoe was traced to the opposite shore—the deep

print of the moccason in the sand, told the rest; and the agonized Smith, accompanied by a few of his best woodsmen, pursued "the spoil encumbered foe." The track once discovered, they kept it with that unerring sagacity so peculiar to our hunters. The bended grass, the disentangled briars, and the compressed shrub, afforded the only, but to them the certain indications of the route of the enemy. When they had sufficiently ascertained the general course of the retreat of the Indians, Smith quitted the trace, assuring his companions that they would fall in with them at the pass of a certain stream ahead, for which he now struck a direct course, thus gaining on the foe, who had taken the most difficult paths. Arrived at the stream, they traced its course until they discovered the water newly thrown upon the rocks. Smith, leaving his party, now crept forward upon his hands and feet, until he discovered one of the savages seated by a fire, and with a deliberate aim shot him through the heart. The women rushed towards their deliverer, and recognizing Smith, clung to him in the transports of newly awakened joy and gratitude, while a second Indian sprang towards him with his tomahawk. Smith, disengaging himself from the ladies, aimed a blow at his antagonist with his rifle, which the savage avoided by springing aside, but at the same moment, the latter received a mortal wound from another hand. The other, and only remaining Indian, fell in attempting to escape. Smith, with his interesting charge, returned in triumph to the fort, where his gallantry, no doubt, was repaid by the sweetest of all rewards.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS.

Among the pioneers, were many substantial farmers—a class that differed from that of which we have spoken, only in being more industrious and provident. They were of the same stock; equally accustomed to the rude scenes of border life—brothers of the same family; but like Jacob and Esau, one was devoted to the vicissitudes of sylvan sport, the other to the sober employments of domestic industry. They came together to the wilderness, the one to possess the soil, the other to wander through the forest in search of game. Alike in appearance and manners, and each occasionally adopting the character of the other, a stranger would have been unable to recognize any distinction between them; but in a few years, the hunter moved forward to a more newly discovered country, while the farmer remained to clear away the forest and raise abundant crops upon its virgin soil. In a few years more, the farmer attests the force of nature and the purity of his descent, by sighing for newer lands; and selling his farm to a later emigrant, he takes his flocks and herds, his children and servants, and follows the hunter to the farther wilderness. The reader, however, is not to suppose that either of these classes are always in motion. They remain for years in one spot, forming the mass of the settled population, and giving a tone to the institutions of the country; and at each

remove, a few are left behind, who cling permanently to the soil, and bequeath their landed possessions to their posterity.

The pioneers brought little other property, than such as they could pack upon the backs of horses. A few implements of husbandry, and such cooking utensils as were indispensable; the rifle, the ax, and a few mechanics' tools; with some horses, cattle, and hogs, constituted the wealth of the emigrant. Their first abode, as we have already stated, was in *camps* and *stations;* but their permanent habitation was the primitive log cabin, still so common throughout the whole western country; and those who have never witnessed the erection of such buildings, would be surprised to behold the simplicity of their mechanism, and the rapidity with which they are put together. The ax and the auger, are often the only tools used in their construction; but usually the frow, the drawing-knife, the broad-ax, and the crosscut-saw, are added. The architecture of the body of the house, is sufficiently obvious; but it is curious to notice the ingenuity with which the wooden fireplace and chimney are protected from the action of the fire by a lining of clay—to see a smooth floor formed of the plane surfaces of hewed logs, and a door made of boards split from the log, hastily smoothed with the drawing-knife, united firmly together with wooden pins, hung upon wooden hinges, and fastened with a wooden latch. Not a nail, nor any particle of metal, enters into the composition of the building—all is wood from top to bottom; all is done by the woodsman, without the aid of any mechanic. These primi-

tive dwellings are by no means so wretched as their name and their rude workmanship would seem to imply. They still constitute the usual dwelling of the farmers in new settlements; and I have often found them roomy, tight, and comfortable. If one cabin is not sufficient, another, and another, is added, until the whole family is accommodated; and thus the homestead of a respectable farmer, often resembles a little village.

The dexterity of the backwoodsman in the use of the ax, is also remarkable; yet it ceases to be so regarded, when we reflect on the variety of uses to which this implement is applied, and that it in fact enters into almost all the occupations of the pioneer. In clearing lands, building houses, making fences, providing fuel, the ax is used; in tilling his fields, the farmer is continually interrupted to cut away the trees that have fallen in his enclosures and the roots that impede his plough; the path of the surveyor is cleared by the ax, and his lines and corners marked by this implement; roads are opened and bridges made with the ax; the first court-houses and jails, are fashioned of logs, with the same tool; in labor or hunting, in traveling by land or water, the ax is ever the companion of the backwoodsman.

With the first emigration, there are no mechanics; and for many years after, but few are found in the new settlements. The farmer, therefore, makes almost every thing that he uses. Besides clearing land, building houses, and making fences, he stocks his own plough, mends his wagon, makes his ox-yokes and harness, and learns to supply nearly

all his wants from the forest. The tables, bedsteads, and seats in his house, are of his own rude workmanship. At first, the dressed skins of wild animals, furnish the materials for making moccasons; but the farmers soon begin to tan their own leather and make their own shoes; and there are thousands scattered over the west, who continue, to this day, to make all the shoes that are worn in their families. They universally raise cotton, and often cultivate, also, hemp and flax; the spinning-wheel and the loom, are common articles of furniture; and the whole farming and hunting population, are clad in fabrics of household manufacture. The traveler, accustomed to different modes of life, is struck with the crude and uncomfortable appearance of every thing about this people — the rudeness of their habitations, the carelessness of their agriculture, the unsightly coarseness of all their implements and furniture, the unambitious homeliness of all their goods and chattels, except the ax, the rifle, and the horse — these being invariably, the best and handsomest which their means enable them to procure. But he is mistaken in supposing them to be indolent and improvident; and is little aware how much ingenuity and toil have been exerted in procuring the few comforts which they possess, in a country without arts, mechanics, money, or commercial intercourse.

The backwoodsman has many substantial enjoyments. After the fatigue of his journey, and a short season of privation and danger, he finds himself surrounded with plenty. His cattle, hogs, and poultry, supply his table with meat; the forest abounds in

game, the fertile soil yields abundant crops; he has, of course, bread, milk, and butter; the rivers furnish fish and the woods honey. For these various articles, there is, at first, no market, and the farmer acquires the generous habit of spreading them profusely on his table, and giving them freely to a hungry traveler and an indigent neighbor.

Hospitality and kindness, are among the virtues of the first settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they become united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other's defence, to aid in each other's labor, to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead, the best affections of the heart are kept in constant exercise; and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country, who obey the calls of friendship, or the claims of benevolence, with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience.

We read marvelous stories of the ferocity of western men. The name of Kentuckian is continually associated with the idea of fighting, dirking, and gouging. The people of whom we are now writing, do not deserve this character. They live together in great harmony, with little contention and less litigation. The backwoodsmen are a generous and placable race. They are bold and impetuous; and when differences do arise among them, they are more apt to give vent to their resentment at once, than to brood over their wrongs, or to seek legal redress. But this conduct is productive of harmony; for men are always more guarded in their deportment to

each other, and more cautious of giving offense, when they know that the insult will be quickly felt, and instantly resented, than when the consequences of an offensive action are doubtful, and the retaliation distant. We have no evidence that the pioneers of Kentucky were quarrelsome or cruel; and an intimate acquaintance with the same race, at a later period, has led the writer to the conclusion, that they are a humane people; bold and daring, when opposed to an enemy, but amiable in their intercourse with each other and with strangers, and habitually inclined to peace. Another generation has grown up, the sons of the pioneers, and the offspring of persons of wealth, many of whom have been suffered to reach the years of manhood with defective educations, and without having been trained to any regular employment, and among whom, as might be expected, are found idle, dissipated, and violent men—the gambler, the bully, and the duelist. The want of schools, the ease with which a livelihood was earned, and the rapidity with which fortunes were made, some years ago, induced a degree of improvidence in the rearing of youth; and the number of those who grew up without any regular training, or any settled purpose, was greater than is common in other parts of our continent. The effect upon the manners of the population, is too obvious to need explication. But the character for brutal violence and audacious blasphemy, has been affixed to the people of this region, chiefly through the means of the boatmen and desperadoes, who formerly infested our rivers, and kept the inhabitants of their shores in constant terror.

Before the introduction of steamboats upon this river, its immense commerce was chiefly carried on by means of keel-boats, or of *barges*—large boats, calculated to descend as well as to ascend the stream, and which required many hands to navigate them. Each barge carried from thirty to forty boatmen, and a number of these boats frequently sailed in company. The arrival of such a squadron at a small town, was the certain forerunner of a riot. The boatmen, proverbially lawless and dissolute, were often more numerous than the citizens, and indulged, without restraint, in every species of debauchery, outrage, and mischief. Wherever vice exists, will be found many to abet and to take advantage of its excesses; and these towns were filled with the wretched ministers of crime. Sometimes, the citizens, roused to indignation, attempted to enforce the laws; but the attempt was regarded as a declaration of war, which arrayed the offenders and their allies in hostility; the inhabitants were obliged to unite in the defencc of each other; and the contest usually terminated in the success of that party which had least to lose, and were most prodigal of life and careless of consequences. The rapid emigration to this country, was beginning to afford these towns such an increase of population as would have insured their ascendancy over the despots of the river, when the introduction of steamboats, at once effected a revolution.

The substitution of machinery for manual labor, occasioned a vast diminution in the number of men required for the river navigation. A steamboat with

the same crew as a barge, will carry ten times the burthen, and perform her voyage in a fifth part of the time required by the latter. The bargemen infested the whole country, by stopping frequently, and often spending their nights on shore; while the steamboats pass rapidly from one large port to another, making no halt, but to receive or discharge merchandise at intermediate places. The commanders of steamboats, are men of character; property to an immense amount is intrusted to their care; their responsibility is great; and they are careful of their own deportment, and of the conduct of those under their control. The number of boatmen is, therefore, not only greatly reduced, in proportion to the amount of trade, but a sort of discipline is maintained among them, while the increase of population, has enabled the towns to enforce the regulations of their police.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS.

As the western country became better known, report spoke goldenly of its fertility; and a casual reference to the map, was sufficient to show the great commercial advantages to be derived from the numerous and valuable streams, which intersect it in every direction; but there were many obstacles to its settlement. From a period shortly after the revolution, to the time of the embargo, in 1807, there was no reason to induce any class of citizens in the United States to emigrate; all were fully and profitably employed at home. The sanguinary wars, which spread desolation throughout the European continent, not only opened markets for all our surplus produce, but made us the carriers of other nations. Never did American enterprise shine more conspicuously, than in the improvement of these advantages; the art of ship-building was brought to a perfection unknown in any other country; our flag floated in every part of the world; there was no adventure, however novel or hazardous, which our merchants did not attempt; and our sailors displayed, on every occasion, the skill and boldness which has since made them conspicuous in the annals of naval warfare. Happily, too, those enterprises were generally successful. The consequence was, that every man engaged in commercial pursuits found sufficient employment for his capital, while the laboring classes received high wages, and

the farmer had always a ready market and an ample price for his produce. This flourishing state of commerce and agriculture, diffused life and spirit into every rank and department of society. There was scarcely such a thing known, as a man laboring merely to *support his family;* no one was satisfied unless he was growing rich, and few were disappointed, except by their own improvidence. It would be useless to point out the great statesmen and lawyers, who have attained their present eminence from an obscure origin; or the wealthy merchants, farmers, and mechanics, who, from the most abject poverty, have risen to opulence. Our country is full of such examples; and they stand as monuments of those happy days, when industry was not only a sure but a rapid guide to wealth.

Under such circumstances, few persons were disposed to emigrate to a new country; and, although some were tempted by the great prospects of gain, which the fertile regions in the west were said to offer, many were discouraged by the unsettled state of the country, its reputed unhealthiness, and the vicinity of the Indian tribes.

To Europeans, this part of America offered no attractions; it was too remote, too insulated, too barbarous, and too entirely uncongenial with all their habits, tastes, and feelings.

The first settlers of this country, therefore, were men whose object was not gain, but who appeared to have been allured by the very difficulties which discouraged others. They were hardy, enterprising

men, fond of change, and familiar with fatigue, who seem to have thought with Fitz James—

> "If a path be dangerous known,
> The danger's self is lure alone."

The manners and institutions of a new people are always curious—presenting the naked outlines of character, the first rudiments of civilization, and all the simple elements of society. In New England, the *fathers* contended successfully with the savage and the climate; they made laws, burned witches, prohibited kissing, and knocked their beer-barrels on the head for *working* on the Sabbath. They had many simple fashions and queer ways, which have vanished with their witches and their blue laws. They were not so military in their habits, as their prototypes in the west; because, though equally brave and enterprising, they were more industrious, more frugal, and less mercurial in their temperament. Religion was with them a powerful spring of action, and discouraged all wars except those of self-defence. The social and moral virtues, the sciences and arts, were cherished and respected; and there were many roads to office and to eminence, which were safer and more certain, and not less honorable, than the bloody path of warlike achievement.

Kentucky was settled at a period when religious fanaticism had vanished, and when the principles of the revolution, then in full operation, had engendered liberal and original modes of thinking—when every man was a politician, a soldier, and a patriot, ready to make war or to make laws, to put his hand to the plough or to the helm of state, as circumstances

might require. They went to a wilderness, with all these new notions in their heads, full of ardor and full of projects, determined to add a new state to the family of republics, at all hazards. The rifle and the ax were incessantly employed. The savage was to be expelled; the panther, the wolf, and the bear to be exterminated; the forest to be razed; houses to be built; and when all this was accomplished, their labors were but commenced.

A frontier is often the retreat of loose individuals, who, if not familiar with crime, have very blunt perceptions of virtue. The genuine woodsman, the real pioneer, are independent, brave, and upright; but as the jackal pursues the lion to devour his leavings, the footsteps of the sturdy hunter are closely pursued by miscreants destitute of his noble qualities. These are the poorest and idlest of the human race—averse to labor, and impatient of the restraints of law and the courtesies of civilized society. Without the ardor, the activity, the love of sport, and patience of fatigue, which distinguish the bold backwoodsman, these are doomed to the forest by sheer laziness, and hunt for a bare subsistence; they are the "cankers of a calm world and a long peace," the helpless *nobodies*, who, in a country where none starve and few beg, sleep until hunger pinches, then stroll into the woods for a meal, and return again to their slumbers.

A still worse class also infested our borders—desperadoes flying from justice, suspected or convicted felons escaped from the grasp of the law, who sought safety in the depth of the forest, or in the infancy of civil

regulations. The horse-thief, the counterfeiter, and the robber, found here a secure retreat, or a new theatre for the perpetration of crime.

We have spoken, in another work, of two brothers named Harpe, who appeared in Kentucky about the year 1793, spreading death and terror wherever they went. Little else was known of them, but that they passed for brothers, and came from the borders of Virginia. They had three women with them, who were treated as their wives, and several children, with whom they traversed the mountainous and thinly settled parts of Virginia into Kentucky, marking their course with blood. Their history is wonderful, as well from the number and variety, as the incredible atrocity of their adventures.

Passing rapidly through the better settled parts of Kentucky, they proceeded to the country south of Green river, which at that time was just beginning to be inhabited.

Here they soon acquired a dreadful celebrity. Neither avarice, want, nor any of the usual inducements to the commission of crime, seemed to govern their conduct. A savage thirst for blood—a deep rooted malignity against human nature, could alone be discovered in their actions. They murdered every defenceless being that fell in their way, without distinction of age, sex, or color. In the night, they stole secretly to the cabin, slaughtered its inhabitants, and burned their dwelling—while the farmer who left his house by day, returned to witness the dying agonies of his wife and children, and the conflagration of his possessions. Plunder was not their ob-

ject; travelers they robbed and murdered, but from the inhabitants they took only what would have been freely given to them, and no more than was immediately necessary to supply the wants of nature; they destroyed without having suffered injury, and without the prospect of gain. A negro boy, riding to a mill with a bag of corn, was seized by them, and his brains dashed out against a tree; but the horse which he rode, and the grain, were left unmolested. Females, children, and servants, no longer dared to stir abroad; unarmed men feared to encounter a Harpe; and the solitary hunter, as he trod the forest, looked around him with a watchful eye, and when he saw a stranger, picked his flint and stood on the defensive.

It seems incredible, that such atrocities could have been often repeated in a country famed for the hardihood and gallantry of its people; in Kentucky, the cradle of courage and the nurse of warriors. But that part of Kentucky, which was the scene of these barbarities, was then almost a wilderness, and the vigilance of the Harpes for a time insured impunity. The spoils of their dreadful warfare, furnished them with the means of violence and of escape. Mounted on fine horses, they plunged into the forest, eluded pursuit by frequently changing their course, and appeared, unexpectedly, to perpetrate new enormities, at points distant from those where they were supposed to lurk. On these occasions, they often left their wives and children behind them; and it is a fact honorable to the community, that vengeance for

these bloody deeds, was not wreaked on the helpless companions of the perpetrators.

A person named Meason, was also conspicuous in the early history of this region, as an audacious depredator. At that period, vast regions along the shores of the Ohio and Mississippi were still unsettled, through which, boats navigating those rivers, must necessarily pass; and the traders, who, after selling their produce at New Orleans, attempted to return by land, had to cross immense tracts of country totally destitute of inhabitants. Meason, who was a man above the ordinary stamp, in talents, manners, and stature, was both a land and a water pirate, infesting the rivers and the woods, seldom committing murder, but robbing all who fell in his way. Sometimes he plundered the descending boats; but more frequently he allowed these to pass, preferring to plunder the owners of their money as they returned; and pleasantly remarking, that "these people were taking produce to market for him."

At a later period, the celebrated counterfeiter, Sturdevant, fixed his residence on the shore of the Ohio, in Illinois; and for several years set the laws at defiance. He was a man of talent and address. He was possessed of much mechanical genius, was an expert artist, and was skilled in some of the sciences. As an engraver, he was said to have few superiors; and he excelled in some other branches of art. For several years, he resided at a secluded spot in Illinois, where all his immediate neighbors were his confederates, or persons whose friendship he had conciliated. He could, at any time, by the

blowing of a horn, summon from fifty to a hundred armed men to his defence; while the few quiet farmers around, who lived near enough to get their feelings enlisted, and who were really not at all implicated in his crimes, rejoiced in the impunity with which he practised his schemes. He was a grave, quiet, inoffensive man in his manners, who commanded the obedience of his comrades and the respect of his neighbors. He had a very excellent farm; his house was one of the best in the country; his domestic arrangements were liberal and well ordered. Yet this man was the most notorious counterfeiter that ever infested our country, and carried on his nefarious art to an extent which no other person has ever attempted. His confederates were scattered over the whole western country, receiving through regular channels of intercourse, their supplies of counterfeit bank notes, for which they paid him a stipulated price—sixteen dollars in cash for a hundred dollars in counterfeit bills. His security arose, partly from his caution in not allowing his subordinates to pass a counterfeit bill, or do any other unlawful act in the state in which he lived, and in his obliging them to be especially careful of their deportment in the *county* of his residence; measures which effectually protected him from the civil authority; for although all the counterfeit bank notes, with which a vast region was inundated, were made in his house, that fact could never be proved by legal evidence. But he secured himself further, by having a band of his lawless dependents settled around him, who were ready at all times to fight in his defence;

and by his conciliatory conduct, which prevented his having any violent enemies, and even enlisted the sympathies of many reputable people in his favor. But he became a great nuisance, from the immense quantity of spurious paper which he threw into circulation; and although he never committed any acts of violence himself, and is not known to have sanctioned any, the unprincipled felons by whom he was surrounded, were guilty of many acts of desperate atrocity; and Studevant, though he escaped the arm of the law, was at last, with all his confederates, driven from the country by the enraged people, who rose, almost in mass, to rid themselves of one, whose presence they had long considered an evil as well as a disgrace.

Among the early settlers, there was a way of trying causes, which may, perhaps, be new to some of my readers. No commentator has taken any notice of *Linch's law*, which was once the *lex loci* of the frontiers. Its operation was as follows: When a horse-thief, a counterfeiter, or any other desperate vagabond, infested a neighborhood, evading justice by cunning, or by a strong arm, or by the number of his confederates, the citizens formed themselves into a "*regulating company*," a kind of holy brotherhood, whose duty it was to purge the community of its unruly members. Mounted, armed, and commanded by a leader, they proceeded to arrest such notorious offenders as were deemed fit subjects of exemplary justice; their operations were generally carried on in the night. Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree

in the woods; the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation. It seldom happened, that more than one or two were thus punished; their confederates took the hint and fled, or were admonished to quit the neighborhood. Neither the justice nor the policy of this practice can be defended; but it was often resorted to from necesity, and its operation was salutary, in ridding the country of miscreants whom the law was not strong enough to punish. It was liable to abuse, and was sometimes abused; but in general, it was conducted with moderation, and only exerted upon the basest and most lawless men. Sometimes the sufferers resorted to courts of justice for remuneration, and there have been instances of heavy damages being recovered of the *regulators*. Whenever a county became strong enough to enforce the laws, these high-handed doings ceased to be tolerated.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS.

At the close of the revolution, the state of Virginia rewarded her military officers, by donations of land, in the then *district of Kentucky*. Many of these gentlemen, with others, who, at the close of the war, found themselves without employment, emigrated to that country, carrying with them the courage, skill, and lofty notions incident to military command. They became the leaders in the Indian wars; and as bravery is necessarily held in the highest estimation among people who are exposed to danger, they soon became the popular men of the country, and filled many of the civil offices. A number of these gentlemen had been active and distinguished soldiers, who had reaped the laurels of successful valor, and earned the gratitude of their country; while they were, at the same time, men of education and refinement. They had all the high tone of Virginia feeling, together with the military pride and the knowledge of the world, acquired in several years of service. Seldom has a new community enjoyed the rare advantage of numbering among the founders of her institutions, men in whom were united such rare and happy endowments. They had the polish and elegance of gentlemen, with the muscular strength and courage of the backwoodsman. They were accustomed to war and to all the athletic exercises of the forest. They rode well and wielded

the rifle with fatal precision; they were successful warriors and good hunters; yet they were well-bred men, of easy manners, cultivated minds, liberal opinions, and unbounded hospitality. A fair proportion of them were persons of extensive property, or at least, in easy circumstances, which placed them above selfish considerations, and enabled them to live up to the native liberality of the Virginian character. The people and the institutions of the country, imbibed their spirit. Brave and hardy the Kentuckians must have been, from their manner of life; but we must attribute much of their hospitality, their polish, and their intelligence, to the gentlemen of Virginia, who came in early times to this state, bringing with them education, wealth, and talents.

Another fact is true of Kentucky, which does not occur in the history of other western states, or of new countries in general. This district, when first settled, formed a part of the territory of Virginia, lying in actual contact with the mother state; and its settlement was considered rather an expansion of the *Old Dominion*, than as the formation of a new community. We do not discover, either in the traditions or the writings of these times, which have come down to us, that the settlers of Kentucky were called *emigrants*. The idea of expatriation did not connect itself with their change of residence; they *moved out* to an unsettled part of their own state, considered themselves as remaining in their native land, and transferred to the soil of Kentucky all the pride, the local attachment, the love of country, which we find so prominent, so characteristic, so

graceful in the Virginia character. They were still Virginians.

The peculiarities of the society thus constituted, were but little adulterated by manners or institutions foreign from their own; there was little emigration to Kentucky from any other states than Virginia and North Carolina — none from Europe, and scarcely any from the eastern states. There was, therefore, a purely American population, whose institutions began to be organized at a period contemporaneous with the birth of our national independence, when the pride of newly gained freedom was glowing brightly, and patriotism was a new-born and highly cherished virtue.

When all these facts are considered, in connexion with the geographical position, the fertility, and the resources of the country, it is not difficult to understand the causes of those peculiarities of national character, which have always distinguished the Kentuckians, and which still point them out to the most casual observer, as a separate people. The first stock were hunters or military men — an athletic, vigorous race, with hardy frames, active minds, and bold spirits; and they lived for years surrounded by dangers which kept them continually alert, and drew them often into active military service. Obliged to think and act for themselves, they acquired independence of thought and habitual promptitude of demeanor. Separated from the parent state, and compelled to build up their own civil institutions, they canvassed freely every subject connected with their political rights and internal policy. They inherited

the frankness and generosity of the southern character; and these traits were not deteriorated by their residence in a fertile country, surrounded with abundance. Courage would naturally be held in high estimation, by a people whose ancestors were brave and continually engaged in warfare; and we find, accordingly, that this virtue is still in great repute among the Kentuckians. They are daring, impetuous, and tenacious of their honor—chivalrous, fond of adventure, courteous to females, and hospitable to the stranger.

And is it not obvious, that the Kentuckians must be an enthusiastic, a poetic, and an eloquent race? That they are so in fact, we are all aware; and it seems natural that such should be their character. The mercurial temperament of the southern constitution, has been preserved in them and improved by the circumstances of their history; to the high-toned feeling and hot blood of the south, there has been added a hardiness of frame and an energy of mind, naturally growing out of the incidents of border life. They live in a land of unrivaled beauty, where the bounties of Heaven have been poured out upon the earth in rich profusion—in a wide, a boundless country, filled with gigantic productions. The whole period of their history, is crowded with romantic adventure. From their cradles, they have been accustomed to listen to the wildest and most curious legends—to tales of such thrilling horror, as to curdle the blood of the hearer, while they awaken his incredulity. Their traditions are wonderfully rich, and full of the most absorbing interest. There is

hardly a family which does not preserve the reminiscence of some mournful catastrophe, or cherish the recollection of a daring exploit. With such an origin, such scenes, and such recollections, they cannot be other than an original and highly romantic people.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE OVER THE INDIANS.

While the pioneers were thus active in the forests of Kentucky, the enterprising spirit of our countrymen had led them to explore other parts of the Ohio valley, and to undertake adventures similar to those which we have described. Tennessee began to be settled from North Carolina about the same time, and by a similar class of men. Sevier, Blount, Robinson, and other prominent leaders in that region, closely resembled the Harrods, the Logans, the Hardins, and Bullitts of Kentucky, in mental energy and physical hardihood. We do not enter upon their history, because it would lead us to a repetition of events precisely analagous to those which we have detailed; and in giving merely the spirit of western history, it is not our intention to repeat similar circumstances, occurring at different places and to different individuals, but merely to select such examples as may best illustrate the whole subject. We refrain also, from touching upon the annals of Tennessee, because the events which occurred in that region, are not connected or involved with those that took place in the settlement of Kentucky and the territory northwest of the Ohio. Although contemporaneous and similar, the actors were different, and the transactions entirely independent of each other.

It may, however, be stated, as a curious coincidence, and as another illustration of some of the re-

marks which we made on the political condition of the early settlers, that while Kentucky was engaged in angry altercation with Virginia, in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, and other exciting topics, to which we have alluded, Tennessee was angrily urging the same subjects upon the attention of North Carolina. But the people of Tennessee became more exasperated, and proceeded to more decisive measures than the inhabitants of Kentucky; for while the latter only weighed the advantages of their connexion with the Union, and spoke of a violent separation from the mother state as a possible event, the former proceeded to the experiment of a separate government, and actually framed the constitution of an independent state, which they called *Frankland*. They were, however, not unanimous in this measure; a part only of the people, headed by a few violent men, assented to its adoption, while the remainder continued loyal to the existing authorities, patiently waiting for a change of times, and confidently relying on the justice of a government of their own choice, which could have no inducement, nor any provocation, to oppress a portion of its citizens. The state of Frankland had a brief and turbulent existence, and died a natural death. The admission of Tennessee into the Union, as a separate state, in 1796, quieted the discontents of the people.

About the year 1750, a settlement was made at Redstone, now called Brownsville, on the Monongahela. The settlers were chiefly Pennsylvanians. From this place and Fort Pitt, they spread over western Pennsylania and Virginia. No part of our popula-

tion ever suffered more severely from Indian hostilities than this. The wars were fierce and long continued. There is scarcely a spot throughout that region, which is not distinguished as the field of a sanguinary battle, or the scene of some memorable deed of savage atrocity. The romantic and beautiful shores of the Monongahela, are rendered particularly interesting, by the many wild traditions related by the old inhabitants, and the singularly exciting associations with which they inspire the mind of the traveler.

The savages who assailed the new settlements in the west, resided chiefly on the northwestern side of the Ohio river, from its mouth to the lakes. The British government had established agencies among them, for the sole purpose of keeping alive their rancor against the American people. The fur trade was not at that period a source of great profit, nor an object of commercial cupidity; and the British cabinet could have had no other inducement sufficiently powerful, to have provoked a measure so audacious, as that of maintaining agents among the tribes within our acknowledged territorial boundaries, except that of preventing the expansion of population, by keeping up a continual warfare upon the borders. The fearful extent to which they effected this object, is too well remembered. Colonel M'Kee, an authorized agent of the British government, of high official rank and great influence among the tribes, became infamously notorious for the atrocities committed under his sanction, and the success of his wide spread and indefatigable intrigues.

His name is found continually associated with the darkest deeds which are recorded in the history or preserved in the traditions of our border wars. That his misdeeds have been exaggerated by rumor, and magnified by the resentment of those who suffered by his cruel policy, is altogether possible; but enough is shewn in his own official acts, and in the reports of the American governors and commanders in the west, to establish the fact, that he served what he supposed to be the interests of his own country, with a zeal as fatal to his own reputation, as it was destructive to the peace of the frontiers, and ruinous to the unhappy savages who were the willing instruments of his vengeance. A wretched miscreant named Girty, was another agent in these nefarious proceedings — a native of one of the British colonies, who, in consequence of his crimes, or of some injury which he supposed himself to have received, had fled from the abodes of civilized men; he became a savage in manners and in principle, and spent his whole life in the perpetration of a demoniac vengeance against his countrymen. He planned many expeditions against our borders, some of which he led in person; was present at the conflagration of the settler's cabin, witnessed the expiring agonies of the mother and the infant, and assisted in the dreadful solemnities which attend the torturing of a prisoner at the stake. It was in vain that the unhappy victims appealed to his humanity; a single instance only is known, in which he suffered the dictates of pity to actuate his conduct; with the same cold indifference or hellish malignity, did he witness the butchery of the infant,

the murder of the female, and the excrutiating torture of the gallant soldier. He is not known to have held any specific appointment under the British government; but he was the companion and subordinate of McKee, and was known to have had the countenance and protection of that officer.

This subject is too painful to be dwelt upon in detail. The relations between the British and American governments are now placed upon an amicable basis, which renders it improbable, that the vicious of either nation, will ever again have it in their power to inflict upon the peaceful inhabitants of the other, such injuries as those to which we have alluded. The recital of these events, therefore, in the mere spirit of resentment, would be wrong; but it is impossible to pass them over in silence, because they have had so important a bearing upon the affairs of this region, that without adverting to them, its history cannot be understood, nor can the difficulties which surrounded the first settlers be fairly appreciated.

We have seen, that the pioneers of Kentucky, though few in number and unsupported by the government, contended successfully against the Indians. The settlement of the newer states, west of the Ohio, commenced at a later period, under the immediate auspices of the United States, and with prospects far more encouraging; yet the hostilities were as fierce, though not so long protracted, as those of the Kentuckians. In the one case, small parties of volunteers, hastily collected, and without organization, acted successfully against the savage; in the other,

regular armies, under experienced commanders, were more than once defeated.

It is also worthy of remark, that at a period nearly contemporaneous with the commencement of the settlements in Ohio, the United States began to organize a system of concilatory measures towards the Indians. The policy pursued previously, as well by the colonies as by the British government, had been such as to alienate the aborigines and provoke their vengeance. The wars between the English and French, had operated most unhappily upon our relations with the tribes, not only by keeping the frontiers in a state of disturbance, which rendered both the whites and the Indians jealous, and keenly alive to the slightest appearance of affront, but by the direct employment of the savages as auxiliaries. In the revolutionary war, this fatal expedient was adopted by the mother country to a fearful extent; and along the whole line of our frontier, the Indians, armed with the weapons of civilized men, and furnished with munitions by our wealthy antagonist, were incited to ravage the country. The Indian force that invested Boonsborough in 1778, fought under British colors, was commanded by Europeans, and summoned the garrison in the name of his Britannic majesty. The American government was the first to discourage the unnatural practice of employing savage auxiliaries; and the adoption of this principle, was among the earliest acts of the federal Union. In the ordinance of 1787, we find the following emphatic declaration, which may be considered as comprehending the views of our government and people at that time,

and as laying down the maxims which have regulated our policy, in relation to that unfortunate race, down to the present period. "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but *laws founded in justice and humanity*, shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." At a period a little subsequent, the language of the executive was: "It is the ardent wish of the President of the United States, as well from a principle of humanity, as from duty and sound policy, that all prudent means in our power, should be unremittingly pursued, for carrying into effect the benevolent views of congress, relative to the Indian nations within the jurisdiction of the United States;" and in the instructions given, from time to time, to the governors of the western territories, the agents for Indian affairs, and the military officers employed in that region, we find invariably the same benevolent tone, and the constant inculcation of measures, having for their object, "not only the cultivation and establishment of harmony and friendship between the United States and the different nations of Indians, but the introduction of civilization, by encouraging and gradually introduc-

ing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactures among them."

While such language was used by the highest authorities of our country, in their instructions to the subordinate agents whose duties brought them in contact with the Indians, and was repeated in the various councils held with the tribes, and enforced by the most solemn pledges — while the Indians were entreated in the most urgent manner to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors, to discontinue their exterminating wars with each other, to live in peace with the white men, and to cultivate our arts, they were admonished by the insidious emissaries to whom we have alluded, to regard us with suspicion, as enemies, who, under the guise of friendship, sought their destruction. A fair specimen of this species of backwoods diplomacy, may be found in a *talk* delivered by Colonel McKee to the Potowatamies, who had destroyed twenty barrels of spirits, which had been brought into their nation by an English trader, in November, 1804.

"My children," said he, "I am surprised that you should rob one of your father's traders; the man that you took the liquor from lately, was an Englishman, and sent to trade among you by me; I told him to take some liquor with him, to give to the chiefs among my children on the St. Joseph's a dram in cold weather, when they came to see him, but not to sell any to you.

"My children, it is true that the Americans do not wish to sell you any spirituous liquors, therefore, they have told their traders, that they should not carry any liquor into your country; but, my chil-

dren, they have no right to say that one of your father's traders among you, should carry no liquor among his children.

"My children, your father, King George, loves his red children, and wishes his red children supplied with every thing they want; he is not like the Americans, who are continually blinding your eyes and stopping your ears with good words, that taste as sweet as sugar, and getting all your lands from you.

"My children, should you yet have any of the liquor that you took from the Englishman, I wish you to return it to him immediately.

"My children, I am told that Wells (an American), has told you that it was your interest to suffer no liquor to come into your country; you all well know that he is a bad man; you all well know the injury he done you before you made peace with the Long-knives, by taking and killing your men, women, and children."

On another occasion he said to them: —

"My children, I have always told you that I would give you the earliest information of any danger that threatened you. There is now a powerful enemy of yours to the east, on his feet, and looks mad at you, therefore, you must be on your guard; keep your weapons of war in your hands and have a look out for him."

The moral turpitude of addressing to savages sentiments directly tending to incite them to intoxication and war, and neutralizing the efforts of the benevolent, who were endeavoring to dissuade them

from both, is sufficiently obvious. But the offense becomes greatly aggravated, when we recollect that these Indians resided within our territorial limits; that the interference of an agent of a foreign government was gratuitous, unauthorized, and in contravention of the principles of the laws of nations, and that we were at that time at peace with these Indians and with the British.

We have no wish to multiply the evidences of this unjust interference with our rights and policy. We could trace it through the whole history of our western settlements, from the revolution down to the war with Great Britain, which terminated with the close of the year 1814; and we have seen it manifested, though less frequently, and far less openly, on a few occasions since the latter period. This state of things, was the most unfortunate for the interests of the pioneers, that could possibly have occurred, and its practical operation was peculiarly disastrous and oppressive. Had they been left to contend alone against the savages—had the contest been simply for the possession of the country, without any reference to questions of right, and without the interference of the government on the one hand, or of adverse political machinations on the other, the conflict would easily have been decided. The first adventurers to Kentucky were thus unembarrassed, and were uniformly successful. At a later period, the government, while it afforded little protection to the frontiers, imposed restraints which crippled the exertions of the inhabitants of the borders, while they encouraged the Indians to become more auda-

cious in their hostility. It was determined, that the lands of the Indians should not in any case be taken from them without their consent, nor without giving them an equivalent. Hostilities against them were discouraged and the invasion of their territory forbidden, while the Indians were making frequent incursions into our country, and ravaging the whole border with fire and sword. On our side, there was forbearance and restraint; on theirs, active and unremitting hostility; the government of the United States was continually mediating between the actual parties, the Indians and the settlers, and withholding the latter from what they considered a just vengeance, while the agents of a foreign government were arming our foes and inciting them to new acts of murder and depredation.

It is perfectly obvious, that these transactions must have been injurious to all concerned, but especially to the inhabitants, both civilized and savage, of this region. The Indians were sacrificed without mercy, by a destructive policy of their allies, who reaped much odium, but gained no ultimate benefit by the operation; the settlers endured the most dreadful calamities, while the beneficent intentions of the government were frustrated.

We do not mean to insist that all the outrages committed on our frontiers by the Indians, are justly attributable to the direct action of the British government; many of the atrocities of which we complain, were undoubtedly the unauthorized acts of private individuals, perpetrated for the accomplishment of their own purposes of emolument or revenge; but

some of them have been shown to have been the official acts of public men, and the cabinet of St. James is responsible for the effects of a system of which it was the author, and which was in itself unjustifiable. The fur trade, although insignificant when compared with the other branches of the commerce and industry of either nation, has always been a source of contention between the traders of the United States and Great Britain; and the Indians have been tampered with by persons who have had no higher object in view than the securing of the trade with a particular tribe. The late Indian war in Illinois, was in part brought about by the machinations of the Canadian traders, who expected, by embroiling the Americans with the Indians, to prevent our traders from passing in safety up the Mississippi, and thus to monopolize to themselves the traffic of one year.

Having pointed out a prolific source of disturbance, without a proper understanding of which, the ensuing narrative would be obscure, we shall proceed to speak of the settlements west and north of the Ohio.

CHAPTER XIV.

CLARKE'S EXPEDITION.

One of the earliest expeditions of the Americans beyond the Ohio, which then constituted the western frontier, was that of Colonel George Rogers Clarke against Kaskaskia, in 1778. This place, as well as the posts upon the lakes, was then in the possession of the British, with whom we were at war; and being one of the points from which the Indians were supplied with munitions, and enabled to harass the settlements in Kentucky, its capture was deemed so important, that the legislature of Virginia was induced to raise a regiment for the purpose. The command was given to Colonel Clarke, who planned the expedition, and who is spoken of by Chief Justice Marshall, as "a gentleman, whose great courage, uncommon hardihood, and capacity for Indian warfare, had given him repeated successes, in enterprises against the savages." He was a man of extraordinary talents and energy of character — possessed of a military genius, which enabled him to plan with consummate wisdom, and to execute his designs with decision and promptitude. Having visited Kentucky during the previous year, he was satisfied, that in order to curb the Indians effectually, it was necessary to strike at the powerful, though distant allies, by whom they were supported. His great mind readily comprehended the situation of the country; he made himself acquainted with the to-

pography of the whole region, as far as it was known, with the localities of the enemy's posts, and the strength of their forces; and was enabled to make such representations, as induced the legislature of Virginia to act with vigor. A regiment was authorized to be raised for the defence of the western frontiers, without designating the particular object of the enterprise, which remained a profound secret; and such was the confidence inspired by Colonel Clarke, that between two and three hundred men were raised without delay.

With this force, he crossed the mountains to the Monongahela, and descended by water to the falls of Ohio, where he was joined by some volunteers from Kentucky. Having halted a few days to refresh his men, he proceeded down the Ohio to the neighborhood of Fort Massac, a point about sixty miles above the mouth of that river, where he landed and hid his boats, to prevent their discovery by the Indians. He was now distant from Kaskaskia about one hundred and thirty miles, and the intervening country — with which the writer is familiarly acquainted — must have been at that period, when in the state of nature, almost impassable. His route led through a low, flat region, intersected by numerous streams and ponds, and entirely covered with a most luxuriant vegetation, which must have greatly impeded the march of troops. Through this dreary region, the intrepid leader marched on foot, at the head of his gallant band, with his rifle on his shoulder, and his provisions upon his back. After wading through ponds, crossing creeks by such methods

as could be hastily adopted, and sustaining two day's march after the provisions were exhausted, he arrived in the night, before the village of Kaskaskia. Having halted and formed his men, he made them a brief speech, which contained only the pithy sentiment, that "the town was to be taken, at all events." And it was taken accordingly, without striking a blow; for, although fortified, the surprise was so complete, that no resistance was attempted. A detachment, mounted on the horses of the country, was immediately pushed forward to surprise the villages higher up the Mississippi; they were all taken without resistance, and the British power in that quarter completely destroyed It is said, that a hunter had discovered the American troops, and apprized the inhabitants of Kaskaskia of their approach; but that his story was considered so improbable, as to obtain no credit. It *was* an improbable story, although it turned out to be true. A law had been passed for the raising of a regiment, the troops had been enlisted, officered, and equipped, transported thirteen hundred miles by land and water, through a wilderness country, inhabited by the Indian allies of the enemy, and marched into a garrisoned town, without the slightest suspicion, much less discovery of the movement. When we observe the amount of time and labor which is now expended, in making a journey from Virginia to Kaskaskia, with all our improvements, and reflect how incalculably greater must have been the difficulties of such a journey sixty-five years ago, when there was no road across the mountains, nor any boats in which to navigate the

rivers, but such rude craft as the traveler might construct for his own convenience; and when we take into consideration the difficulty of transporting provisions and ammunition through a wild region, the successful expedition of Colonel Clarke, will present itself to the mind as a brilliant military achievement.

His next exploit was bolder, more arduous, and equally successful. Kaskaskia was not strongly defended; no attack by a civilized enemy, was apprehended at this remote spot, and the approach of Clarke was unsuspected; but Vincennes, situated nearly in a direct line between Kaskaskia and the falls of Ohio, distant one hundred and sixty miles from the former place, and two hundred miles from the latter, had been considered within the reach of an attack from the American settlements, and was strongly fortified. It was well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton in person, an experienced officer, who was quickly apprized of the capture of the posts on the Mississippi, in his rear, and prepared to expect a visit from the daring Clarke and his victorious troops. In addition to the regular force, which was greatly superior to that of Clarke in numbers and in equipment, he had under his command six hundred Indian warriors; and being an active, skillful officer, he proposed to march as soon as possible upon the American commander. But the season was such, as to render any immediate military movement difficult, and apparently impracticable. The rivers and smaller streams, all of which, in this level region, overflow their banks rapidly after heavy falls of rain, were now swelled,

and the passes of the country blocked up. Unable to march his own troops under such circumstances, he considered that Clarke would be confined by the same causes to the shores of the Mississippi, where no reinforcement could reach him, and where he could attack him, with the certainty of success, upon the subsiding of the waters.

Colonel Clarke, who, with his other accomplishments, possessed a singular capacity for penetrating into the designs of his enemy, became informed, as well of the present delay, as of the ulterior plan of the British commander, and determined to anticipate his intentions, by marching instantly against the post of Vincennes. To effect this, it was necessary to pass, without any road, over a surface of one hundred and sixty miles of fertile soil, whose light, spungy loam, saturated with water, afforded no firm footing to the steps of the soldiery, and to cross the Kaskaskia, the Little Wabash, the Embarras, and the Great Wabash rivers, besides a number of their tributaries, all of which were swollen, and margined by wide belts of inundated land. But the undaunted leader pressed on — without wagons, without tents, with only such provision and ammunition as could be carried on the backs of a few pack-horses, and the shoulders of the men — toiling by day through mud and water, and sleeping at night upon the wet ground.

Upon reaching the waters of the Great Wabash, our adventurous troops beheld before them an obstacle, which must have daunted the hearts of warriors less resolutely determined than themselves, upon the successful achievement of their enterprise. On the

eastern bank of the river, stood the British fort, on a high shore, swept by the foaming current of a great river; on the western side, was a tract of low alluvion land, five miles in width, entirely inundated. The whole expanse of water to be crossed, was nearly six miles in width—first, the marshy flat, in whose treacherous quicksands, the writer has seen the horse sink under his rider, and become instantly buried in the mire, now covered with water, too deep in some places to be forded, and too shallow in others to admit of navigation by boats, and impeded throughout, by growing timber, floating logs, or tangled brushwood—and then, the swift, powerful current of the river.

Colonel Clarke was laboriously employed for sixteen days, in effecting the march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes; five of which were consumed in passing the wilderness of water just described, through which he meandered in such a manner, as to conceal his forces from the enemy, by avoiding the prairie, and keeping as much as possible under the cover of the timber—wading sometimes breast deep, sometimes proceeding upon rafts and canoes, and at last, crossing the river in the night, and presenting himself suddenly before the town, which was completely surprised.

It was here that the western Hannibal, as Clarke may be justly called, performed a manœuvre, which shows that he was prudent as well as daring; and that while he possessed the hardihood to attempt the most desperate enterprises, he was fertile in expedients, and cautious in availing himself of any inci-

dental advantage which might be presented. As he approached the town, over the wide, beautiful prairie on which it stands, and at the moment when his troops were discovered by the enemy, he found himself near a small circular eminence, which concealed a part of his force from the observation of the foe. Under this cover, he countermarched his column in so skillful a manner, that the leading files, which had been seen from the town, were transferred, undiscovered, to the rear, and made to pass again and again in sight of the enemy, until all his men had been displayed several times, and his little detachment of jaded troops, was made to assume the appearance of a long column, greatly superior in number to its actual force. He then promptly summoned the garrison to surrender. Governor Hamilton, after a brief defence, struck his flag; and the gallant Clarke found himself master of an important post, whose garrison, now his prisoners, consisted of a well appointed body of soldiers, twice as numerous as his own followers.

These brilliant exploits of Colonel Clarke, had an important bearing upon the interests of the western country, both direct and consequential. They gave, for the moment, safety and repose to the harassed inhabitants of Kentucky, and struck with terror the whole savage population of the wide region through which he passed. They deranged an extensive plan of operations on the part of the enemy, the design of which was to annihilate all the border settlements, by pouring in the combined Indian force along the whole line of our frontier, while they detached

from the British interest, many tribes who had long acted under the control of that power. They hastened, if they did not contribute to produce, the most important political event connected with the history of the western country — the purchase of Louisiana. The limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and Virginia, assuming her title to the conquered territory, in right of her charter, as well as of the conquest by her own arms, proceeded at once to erect it into a *county*, which was called *Illinois*.

Another direct consequence of the successes of Colonel Clarke, was the founding of Louisville. Previous to that period, the families who were collected at the falls of Ohio, had sought safety upon the island abreast of the present site of the town; but the capture of Vincennes, by breaking up the nearest and strongest of the enemy's western posts, relieved their apprehensions of danger, and enabled them to settle on the Kentucky shore.

The enterprising spirit of Clarke, was shared by those who followed him. Among them, was Simon Kenton, one of the most celebrated and daring of the pioneers. After the fall of Kaskaskia, he was sent with a small party to Kentucky, with despatches. On their way, they fell in with a camp of Indians, in whose possession was a number of horses, which they took and sent back to the army. Pursuing their way by Vincennes, they entered that place by night, traversed several of the streets, and departed without being discovered, taking from the inhabitants, who were hostile, two horses for each man. When

they came to White river, a raft was made, on which to transport the guns and baggage, while the horses were driven in to swim across the river. On the opposite shore, a party of Indians were encamped, who caught the horses as they ascended the bank. Such are the vicissitudes of border incident! The same horses that had been audaciously taken only the night before, from the interior of a regularly garrisoned town, were lost, by being accidentally driven by the captors into a camp of the enemy. Kenton and his party, finding themselves in the utmost danger, returned to the shore from which they had pushed their raft, and concealed themselves until night, when they crossed the river at a different place, and reached Kentucky in safety.

We shall insert here, another anecdote of Kenton, as a specimen of the daring spirit of the pioneers, and of the singular adventures through which some of them passed. A party of Indians having stolen some horses in Kentucky, Kenton, with a few companions, pursued them across the Ohio, keeping upon their trail for several days undiscovered, and without getting an opportunity of attacking them, until the Indians reached their village. In the night, Kenton and his men entered the village secretly, and not only recaptured the stolen property, but took also, several of the best of the Indians' horses. Kenton fled with the booty rapidly towards home, and the Indians, discovering their loss, became, in turn, the pursuers. The Americans reached the western shore of the Ohio in safety; but being unable to cross without risking the loss of the horses, which had cost them

so much toil and danger, in consequence of a high wind, they were delayed until the Indians overtook them, and Kenton was captured, while his companions escaped.

The Indians either knew Kenton, or discovered from his bearing and his conduct on this occasion, that he was an extraordinary man; and while they exulted in his capture, they practised upon him every possible cruelty. They taunted him with sarcastic compliments upon his love for horses, and assured him that he should ride one of their best animals. He was accordingly bound securely upon a vicious young horse, which was turned loose without a bridle, to follow the party. The animal reared and plunged and dashed through the woods, endeavoring, in vain, to shake off its rider; until wearied out, it became more tame, and quietly fell into the rear of the other horses. Still the situation of Kenton was not the less painful; for the horse, becoming accustomed to the burthen, would often stop to graze, lingering until the party was nearly out of sight, and then dashing forward, would pursue them at full speed, dragging the lacerated body of the wretched pioneer under the overhanging branches, and plunging with him through the closest thickets, as if with the purpose of increasing his misery.

On his arrival at Chillicothe, the most populous of the Indian towns in this region, he was painted black, tied to a stake, and suffered to remain in this painful situation for twenty-four hours, anticipating the horrors of a slow and cruel death. He was next condemned to run the gauntlet. The Indians, several

hundred in number, of both sexes, and every age and rank, armed with switches, sticks, and other implements of annoyance, were formed in two lines, between which the unhappy prisoner was made to pass; having been promised, that if he reached in safety the door of the council-house, at the farther end of the lines, no further punishment would be inflicted. He accordingly ran with all the speed of which his debilitated condition rendered him capable, beaten by the savages as he passed, and had nearly reached the goal, when he was knocked down by a warrior with a club; and the demoniac crew, gathering around his prostrate body, continued to beat him, until life seemed to be nearly extinguished.

In this wretched condition, naked, lacerated, and exhausted, he was marched from town to town, exhibited, tortured, often threatened to be burned at the stake, and frequently compelled to run the gauntlet. On one of these occasions, he attempted to make his escape, broke through the ranks of his torturers, and had outstripped those who pursued him, when he was met by some warriors on horseback, who compelled him to surrender. After running the gauntlet in thirteen towns, he was taken to Lower Sandusky, to be burned. Here resided the miscreant Girty, who having just returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, was in a particularly ill humor, and hearing that there was a white prisoner in town, he rushed upon him, struck him, beat him to the ground, and was proceeding to farther atrocities, when Kenton had the presence of mind to call him by name, and claim his protection.

They had known each other in their youth; Kenton had once saved the life of Girty; and deaf as the latter was habitually, to every dictate of benevolence, he admitted the claim of his former acquaintance; and actuated by one of those unaccountable caprices so common among savages, interceded for him, rescued him from the stake, and took him to his house, where, in a few days, the pioneer recovered his strength. Some of the chiefs, however, became dissatisfied; another council was held, the former decree was reversed, and Kenton was again doomed to the stake. From this extremity, he was rescued by the intercession of Drewyer, a British agent, who having succeeded in obtaining his release, carried him to Detroit, where he was received by the British commandant as a prisoner of war. From this place he made his escape, in company with two other Americans; and after a march of thirty days through the wilderness, continually exposed to recapture, had the good fortune to reach the settlements in Kentucky.

This is one of many similar adventures, which are related of this remarkable man, who seems to have possessed a courage which nothing could daunt, a vigor of mind equal to every emergency, and a strength of constitution, which enabled him to bear the most incredible fatigues and sufferings. He is still living—a venerable relic of a past age. He resides in the state of Ohio, a remarkable monument of the rapid advancement of the country. In the very region over which he roamed a hunter and a warrior, when not a single white man had erected

his cabin within its limits, he now finds himself the citizen of a state containing more than a million of inhabitants, and surrounded by other states but little less populous. He sees towns and cities, commerce and manufactures, government and laws, wealth, refinement and religion, where he once saw only the forest, the beast of prey, and the savage. He has lived a life of romantic and wild adventure; and after having braved a thousand dangers, and been miraculously preserved from death by violence, on various occasions, has outlived the most of his cotemporaries, and will probably die composedly in his bed, and be gathered in peace to his fathers.

CHAPTER XV.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS.

In 1778, an expedition was sent from Kentucky, against the Indians west of the Ohio, under the command of Colonel John Bowman; but owing to the mismanagement of the leader, it entirely failed.

In 1780, Colonel Clarke led an expedition against the Shawanees, residing on the Great Miami. It was conducted with the caution and promptitude, which had previously distinguished the movements of that officer. The Indians were completely surprised, and had barely time to send their squaws and children to the woods for safety. They, however, defended their cabins obstinately, and were only driven from them after a severe battle. The town was then burnt, the corn-fields laid waste, and the means of sustenance of the inhabitants, as far as possible, destroyed. This seems to have been the most effectual method for bridling the ferocity of the Indians; the death of a portion of their warriors, only increased their fury, but the destruction of their villages and corn-fields, chilled their courage, by showing them that the war could be carried to their homes; while it crippled their military power, by forcing them to engage in hunting to support their families.

The year 1782, is rendered memorable in the annals of Kentucky, as the era of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. A number of tribes having united in a formidable combination, a large body of Indian

warriors was marched into Kentucky. A gallant force was hastily assembled to meet them, composed of the flower of the population of the nearest settlements to the point invaded—the best and bravest men, the most promising and chivalrous youth of the land. The enemy, having slaughtered a number of the unprotected inhabitants, and committed many depredations, were apparently retiring, when this army moved with alacrity in pursuit, full of the most sanguine expectations. Colonel Daniel Boone and others, who were conversant with the savage character, discovered a peculiarity in their mode of retreat, which afforded cause for suspicion; instead of their usual secrecy and speed, signs of carelessness and delay, were discovered on their trail, indicating their route, and betraying a willingness to be pursued; while on the other hand, the most effectual measures had been adopted to conceal their numbers. They effected the latter object, by moving in single file, by contracting their camps to the smallest possible compass, and by using but few camp-fires—and the former, by marking a distinct, though narrow path, and leaving various articles strewed by the way, as well to point it out to the pursuers, as to create the belief that they were retiring in confusion. Deceived by these appearances, the younger warriors, burning with revenge, and eager for battle, rushed madly forward, while Boone, and a few other experienced men, endeavored to restrain their ardor. The consequence was, that they fell into an ambuscade, which had been arranged with consummate skill; a part of the Kentuckians were engaged and beaten before the rest came into action; the force was cut

up in detail; and a signal defeat, accompanied with great slaughter, was the unhappy consequence. This was the most severe blow which ever fell upon the early settlers of Kentucky; a number of brave men were slain, many promising youth were among the fallen, and a considerable number of females and children were butchered or taken prisoner. Some families were wholly destroyed; others mourned a husband, a son, a wife, or an infant child, and the whole land was filled with gloom, with the lamentations of bereaved relatives, and the shame of a proud people.

Colonel Clarke, who then resided at the falls of Ohio, immediately seized the opportunity of proposing a retaliatory expedition against the Indians; confident that in the indignant state of the public feeling, nothing could be more popular, nor better calculated to sooth the irritation of the people, and blunt the poignancy of their distress. His call was promptly answered. Officers and men volunteered; horses, provisions, and supplies of every kind, were gratuitously offered, by those who could not leave home, and the enterprising leader soon found himself at the head of a thousand mounted riflemen, who panted to meet the enemy.

This expedition was conducted with the despatch and secrecy so essential to the success of partisan warfare, and for which its distinguished leader had already obtained celebrity. He proceeded to the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto, but found them deserted. He passed from village to village, his approach producing everywhere the same effects. Dis-

may and fright preceded his victorious march. His name struck terror throughout the whole Indian border. The crafty savages, who are admirable judges of human nature, in all that relates to military feeling or calculation, were aware that the pride of Kentucky had been touched; and that those who now sought them in their own towns, to challenge them to battle, came prepared to conquer or die — to revenge injury and wipe off disgrace. They declined a meeting with such men, led by such a commander; and Clarke found nothing but empty cabins and deserted fields. The former, as well as the latter, were desolated. The villages were reduced to ashes, and the standing corn destroyed. The soldiers reaped no laurels; but the effect of the expedition was beneficial. It displayed the power and the spirit of the Americans, and taught the savages that they could not make war upon our borders with impunity.

The next important expedition into the country west of the Ohio, was again led by General Clarke, and was equal in amount of men, to that just described. In 1785, the incursions of the Indians having again caused a popular excitement, an army of a thousand men was raised by voluntary association, and assembled at the falls of Ohio. The provisions and ammunition were sent round in keel-boats to Vincennes, to which place General Clarke marched his men by the nearest route. This expedition accomplished nothing, beyond the good effect produced by the appearance of a respectable force in the Indian country.

The next important expedition into the Indian

country, was that of Scott and Harmar, in 1790. General Scott, with two hundred and thirty volunteers, crossed the Ohio at Limestone, and was joined by General Harmar, with one hundred regulars of the United States army. They penetrated into the Indian country and destroyed several towns, but were unable to bring the Indians to battle.

The well known expedition of General Harmar, occurred in the autumn of the same year. He led into the Indian country, three hundred and twenty federal troops, and eleven hundred and thirty-three Kentucky volunteers, commanded by Colonel John Hardin, an intelligent and gallant officer. They penetrated into the Miami country, and laid waste the corn-fields of the Indians, and having accomplished the sole object of the expedition, were about to return, when some Indians appeared in the vicinity of the camp. Colonel Hardin was detached with a small party in pursuit of them. After pursuing them for six miles, he fell into a snare which they had prepared for him. The Indians, having divided themselves into two parties, had returned on each side of their own trail, at a distance from it, and then approaching it, had concealed themselves in the tall grass, and were quietly waiting the approach of the Americans. When Colonel Hardin and his detachment had passed into the ambushed spot, the enemy rose, discovering themselves on all sides, like the followers of Rhoderic Dhu, in the splendid conception of Scott, and standing exposed in the prairie, fired upon the troops, who were instantly thrown into disorder. The gallant leader endeavored in vain to

rally the panic-struck men. The Indians, greatly superior in number, rushed in upon them, and such as did not find safety in flight, were almost instantly overpowered and slain.

Two days afterwards, the army decamped and commenced its march towards the frontiers. At the distance of about ten miles from the ruined villages, the General halted, and detached Colonel Hardin, with a party of four or five hundred militia, and sixty regulars under Major Willis, with orders to return to the site of the principal Indian town, where it was supposed the Indian force might have collected, upon the retiring of our army. On reaching the village, a small body of Indians was seen, who, on being attacked, fled. The militia, eager to be revenged for the recent disaster, and maddened by the loss of many of their friends, dashed off in pursuit, leaving the regulars unsupported. This was precisely the object intended to be effected by the Indians, a part of whom had fled, merely to decoy the militia into a tumultuous pursuit. The main body of the Indians, who were lying in concealment, rose suddenly from their ambush, and with dreadful yells, rushed upon the regular troops. The latter were a small, though brave band, and the savages so numerous as to render resistance hopeless. The onset was of the most desperate character. The Indians, throwing aside their guns, fought with the tomahawk only. Never did men fight with more heroism than Willis and his regulars. Surrounded and overpowered, they met their fate with inflexible courage. For a time, they defended themselves with the bayonet, and made

great havoc in the ranks of the assailants. But the savages increased in number, like the heads of the fabled Hydra, and when one fell, several others rushed forward to fill his place and avenge his death. The brave Willis and his whole party were slain; scarcely one was left.

The militia were, in the meanwhile, recalled by their commander, from the injudicious pursuit, in which they had engaged without orders and without caution. They were rallied by Colonel Hardin, and brought into action, too late, however, to relieve the regulars. But they fought bravely, sustained a considerable loss, and at last retired in good order, before a superior force, who, flushed with their recent victory over the regulars, assailed their ranks with the fury of enraged demons. The army of Harmar returned to Kentucky, without further incident.

The officers who were first and second in command of this expedition, were much censured at the time, for its disasters, and it has ever since been popularly known, as "Harmar's defeat." The more impartial verdict of history, given on a calm review of all the evidence, will do justice to the names of Harmar and Hardin, and rank these brave soldiers among the defenders of their country, who are entitled to its gratitude. Their successes, and the important objects which they accomplished, have been obscured by their misfortunes; the country mourned the lives that were lost, without reflecting upon the advantages that were gained. The object of the expedition, was to destroy the Indian towns at and near the confluence of St. Mary's and Joseph's

rivers. This was completely accomplished, and the Indian power in that quarter was effectually crippled, by the destruction of their whole stock of provisions for the winter. Their villages were burned and their corn-fields devastated. The duty imposed upon this army, was performed; and its disasters, though deeply to be deplored, should not be allowed to throw a shade over the services or the reputation of the patriotic individuals who composed it. Besides the destruction of their property and means of sustenance, the loss of life was greater on the part of the Indians than on the side of the whites; and that the victory which they claimed, and to which the retreat of our troops entitled them, was dearly bought, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that they neither repeated the attack, nor made any attempt to annoy the army on its return. An army, which had so far secured the respect of a victorious enemy, as to be permitted to march unmolested from a disastrous battle field, was certainly not dishonored, though it might have been vanquished. The error of Harmar, consisted in his dividing his force, by sending out detachments, giving to the enemy the opportunities for practising to advantage the stratagems peculiar to their system of warfare, and exposing our army to the hazard of being beaten in detail. It was thus beaten; but the error in judgment, which produced the result, was not greater than has often been committed by able commanders; and should at least find an excuse in the recollection, that it was preceded by a successful campaign, and followed by an able retreat. Harmar was a brave and accomplished officer, whose character was adorned by many amiable and brilliant

qualities. Both he and Hardin, demanded the investigation of their military conduct in this expedition, by courts of inquiry; and both were honorably acquitted.

In the spring of 1791, General Scott and Colonel (afterwards General) Wilkinson, announced their intention to lead an expedition against the Indians, and a thousand volunteers, mounted and equipped with rifles, were assembled, in the course of a few days, at Frankfort. Their march was directed to the mouth of the Kentucky river, where they crossed the Ohio and struck into the Indian country. They penetrated one hundred and fifty miles into the wilderness, without meeting an enemy; visited the Indian villages on the Wabash, destroyed their lodges and their corn, and returned to Kentucky.

This was one of the first occasions on which the efficiency of mounted riflemen, in a warfare with the Indians, was fairly tried—or perhaps it is more proper to say, that the superiority of this description of troops, was now first made the subject of remark. General Clarke had already made the experiment. The backwoodsmen are expert riders; they love the horse, and are as expert in the management of that noble animal, as in the use of the rifle; and in all the expeditions against the Indians, a portion of the volunteers were mounted. So decided is the preference of the people of the frontier for this mode of warfare, that they are unwilling to take the field in any other manner. But they had heretofore always been accompanied by infantry, whose sluggish movements through the intricacies of the forest, and among the wilds and swamps of the wilderness, im-

peded their march and damped their ardor; while the Indians, unencumbered with baggage, and more intimately acquainted with the country, reaped the full advantage of their capacity for rapid marches and sudden attacks.

General Wilkinson, who, whatever may be the opinion entertained of his character in some other respects, was, undoubtedly, a gentleman of high courage, of singular address, and considerable military sagacity, is entitled to the credit of having been the first to notice these circumstances, and to insist publicly, on the expediency of employing mounted riflemen alone, in hostilities against the Indians. Immediately after his return from the last expedition, he spoke and wrote in favor of the employment of this description of troops; and in July of the same year, published a notification, inviting five hundred volunteer horsemen to accompany him on an expedition into the territory northwest of the Ohio. It was announced, that Colonel John Hardin, and Colonel James McDowell, both of whom were popular leaders, would serve under him as majors. Such was the mode of conducting these hostilities, at that period. A leader of repute planned an expedition, announced his intention, appointed a place of rendezvous, and the volunteers flocked around his standard. When the enterprise was sufficiently important, and a numerous force required, several gentlemen united as leaders, arranged the plan, settled their relative rank among themselves, and used their combined influence in collecting the number of men required. Thus, Colonel John Hardin, who, on previous occasions, had commanded a much

larger force than that now proposed to be raised, served on this occasion as second in command under Wilkinson. It is thus also, that we account for the numerous military titles, under which we find the distinguished men among the pioneers denominated. Some of them, designate the proper rank held by these gentlemen in the militia; others, are titles acquired in actual service, during the revolution; and others, show the rank gratuitously conferred upon the voluntary leaders in some military enterprise, by their companions—a rank which gave them actual command for the occasion, and military titles which they retained permanently. These expeditions were extremely popular; the men offered their services cheerfully, and went at their own cost. There was at first, no government except that of Virginia, which was too distant, and too much occupied in acting her distinguished part in the war of the revolution, to afford assistance to the settlements; and the military duty rendered for the public defence, was both voluntary and gratuitous. The men furnished their own horses, arms, ammunition, and provisions; thus expending their substance, and exposing their property as well as their lives, in this patriotic service.

This enterprise of Wilkinson, produced no important result, except to show the facility with which troops may be moved by an active officer. He scoured the Indian country for a few weeks, swept over a great extent of territory, devastated some of the villages and fields of the enemy, and returned without having succeeded in bringing the savages nto an engagement.

CHAPTER XVI.

EARLY MILITARY OPERATIONS.

That the engagements of the regular troops with the Indians in this region, should have been so often disastrous, is by no means surprising; on the contrary, when we reflect on the character of the army, and the circumstances under which our troops were placed, we can only wonder that they should ever have been successful. The troops which had been engaged in the revolutionary war, had been disbanded, and did not, necessarily, form any part of the military peace establishment of the federal government, though many individuals who had served in the continental line, afterwards entered the army as officers or privates. The first standing army authorized by congress, was too small to offer strong inducements to gentlemen of talent and enterprise, to embrace the military life as a profession; the officers, therefore, though many of them were high minded, gallant men, were not generally the *elite* of the nation, and a large portion of the men were either worn out old soldiers, or raw recruits of degraded character. The habit of intemperate drinking prevailed to an alarming extent. Among the specimens of the military of that day, who survived the assaults of time, and came down to us as the honored relics of a past generation, this propensity was strongly developed, and the appellation of *old soldier*, was always associated with the idea of a hard drinking man. We have

also, some records that attest this fact; the proceedings of courts martial in those days, show, that the charge of drunkenness was more than once brought home to the gentlemen of the sword; and some of the published reminiscences of the old heroes, attest the same lamentable truth. General Eaton has left a list of some of his companions, in which the expressive phrases, "*dead per brandy*," "*dead per ditto*," occur with melancholy frequency. Public opinion had not then placed the stamp of disgrace upon that species of dissipation, and military discipline, although severe, was imperfect.

Our government was then but recently organized, and the war department had not acquired character or stability. It was the branch of the executive which was least esteemed. The standing army had been made the theme of bitter party denunciation, had been pronounced dangerous to liberty, and had been stigmatized by the demagogues of the day, with the bitterest and foulest epithets in the vocabulary of party invective. It was decidedly unpopular. While, therefore, it appeared certain, that neither its numbers, nor the respectability of its appointments, would be enlarged by the deliberate action of government, it was doubtful whether the whole establishment would not be swept off as a nuisance. Congress made appropriations for military purposes with reluctance; and there was little to encourage the war department, in making any decided efforts to improve the service, or sustain the reputation of the army.

The government was poor, and our councils were

distracted. These facts have not been made sufficiently prominent, by those who have commented upon the services and sufferings of the soldiers and the first settlers in the west; nor considered, with the attention they deserve, in connexion with the rapid improvement of our country, and the vigorous growth of our institutions. The pioneers first penetrated into the western forests, during the stormy period of the revolution, when our infant nation was struggling in the grasp of a powerful antagonist, and gasping for existence. At a period a little later, the government was unsettled and powerless. The patriots of the revolution, had willed that we should be free; but it required many years, and much fierce contention, to determine the precise character and extent of the freedom for which they had successfully fought. Parties, equally adverse to rational liberty, which advocated the high-toned principles of aristocracy on the one hand, and the ferocious dogmas of unlicensed democracy on the other, were engaged in controversy, and struggling for the ascendency. By one or the other, almost every national institution, and every branch of the political economy of the country, was denounced and sought to be prostrated; and the government, unwilling to expend its limited resources upon an unpopular or an evanescent institution, was uncertain what institution to foster, and which to leave to its fate.

The army was left to sustain itself—miserably paid, wretchedly clad, badly supplied, and carelessly governed; its honor was supported alone by the patriotism and gallantry of those who composed it.

At the same moment, when the navy was withering under the hostility of the government and the indifference of the people, the army was sinking under the effects of popular fury and executive coldness.

Under such circumstances, troops were raised for the defence of the western frontiers. They were not authorized by congress without opposition. There were some who objected to the prosecution of any tramontane wars, because they doubted the expediency of attempting to extend the territorial limits of the United States beyond the Alleghanies. Some affected to doubt the right of congress to acquire new territories, not embraced within the actual boundaries of the original states of the confederacy; and some, consulting a timid prudence, foresaw in any attempt to possess the broad lands of the west, by military occupancy, a series of bloody and expensive wars with the British, the Spaniards, and the countless hordes of fierce aborigines, who would be incited and supplied by both those powers; while none knew, and few imagined, even in the wildest dreams of speculation, the width, the fertility, the resources, the inexhaustible treasures of national wealth, and the boundless field for individual enterprise, which lay concealed in silent splendor, amid the shadows of the western forests. The troops, therefore, who were sent to the west, were not supported by the enthusiasm of national pride; neither the hopes of the people, nor the steady confidence of the government, stimulated their ambition, or supported them in the patient endurance of fatigue and danger. The pride of individual character, and the

sense of military duty, may do much to sustain men under the pressure of danger; but brilliant results have seldom attended any military enterprise, which did not enlist the sympathies of the people, and hold out the bright rewards of fame.

It should also be recollected, that while the Indians possessed greater physical and numerical strength, more ardor and confidence than at present, with the same military knowledge and discipline which they now exhibit, the tactics of European warfare were in a state infinitely inferior to that in which we see them. They had not the advantage of any of those countless improvements in the mechanic arts, which have given such completeness and finish to the weapons and equipment of the modern soldier. Their movements were heavy, complicated, and ill adapted to partisan warfare. The simplicity, the rapidity of evolution, and the concentration of force, which the genius of Napoleon, and of the galaxy of brilliant men by whom he was surrounded, introduced into military operations, were then unknown. In the comparison, therefore, between the savage and the civilized warrior, the Indian occupied a higher ground at that period than at the present time; he has deteriorated, while we have advanced.

A mistaken opinion was long entertained of the prowess, as well as of the military capacity of the Indian warrior. A variety of circumstances had contributed to invest the red men with higher attributes than they really possessed, to give them a repute to which they were not entitled, and to throw a gratuitous terror around them, which caused the

courage of the disciplined soldier to sink into a mysterious dread as he penetrated into the wilderness, and the blood to forsake his cheek, when he heard the terrific sound of the war whoop. It was difficult to overcome this panic. The dreadful cruelties of the Indians, their butchery of the helpless, their torture of the prisoner, the cunning with which they sometimes entrapped their enemies, and the fury with which they rushed upon an unprepared or inferior enemy, all contributed to produce an awe among the soldiery, which was not easily removed. A few successes on the part of the savages, strengthened the belief in their superiority; and there has been more than one period in our history, when they gained advantages, from the panic created by ignorance of their force and their character.

In addition to all the other unpropitious circumstances to which we have adverted, was that of being obliged to operate in a wilderness, without magazines, without any depots of supplies, and through which it was difficult to transport the baggage and munitions which were absolutely indispensable. Entirely cut off from the settled parts of the country, an army acting in the west at that time, could look for no support in any emergency. What they lost in battle could not be supplied by reinforcement; if their provisions or ammunition became destroyed by accident, or diminished by capture, the deficiency was irreparable. Months must roll away, before the government could be advised of any disaster, of any change of plan, or other vicissitude which might render aid or advice desirable.

These remarks occur forcibly to our minds, when we contemplate the events of the disastrous campaign of St. Clair, and reflect upon the odium incurred by a deserving patriot, and the blight which fell upon a brilliant character, in consequence of a single military miscarriage. Neither the capacity nor the courage of St. Clair admit of doubt. He was a soldier of spotless reputation. His talents were commanding and his experience great. The force placed under his command, was larger than any that had previously acted against the Indians in this region, and some of the officers under him were gentlemen of high reputation. The object of the campaign, was the destruction of the Indian towns upon the Miamies; a purpose, which we have seen, had more than once been effected by small bodies of men, under less distinguished leaders. The army, consisting of about fourteen hundred effective troops, moved from Fort Washington, in September, 1791, and seems to have been conducted with abundant caution. Two forts were erected by the army, as it proceeded, about forty miles from each other, as places of deposit, and resting points for the security of convoys which might follow the troops, and for the safety of the army itself in case of disaster. The march was slow and laborious; delayed by the opening of a road, and by the adoption of measures of abundant precaution. Two months were occupied in tardy marches, enlivened only by occasional skirmishes with the enemy. The campaigns of Clarke and St. Clair, afford, by contrast, admirable illustrations of the different modes of warfare adopted against the Indians,

while they show conclusively, the excellence of the one, and utter futility of the other. Clarke moved with light troops, unencumbered by baggage, and neither halted to establish posts, nor to open roads. He marched so rapidly, that the enemy had no time to penetrate his designs, or anticipate his movements. The blow fell before they were aware of the point at which it was intended to strike—perhaps while they were yet ignorant that it was impending; and he retired before the dismay produced by his sudden approach had subsided, before the shock of the onset could recoil upon himself, or the scattered forces of the enemy could be rallied. St. Clair, at the head of an imposing force, was retarded by the very strength which was intended to render his expedition formidable, and the precautions used for the security of his army; while the enemy avoided his approach with facility, impeded his march, and retaliated his attacks. The fault was not in the leader, but in the plan of the campaign and the kind of troops employed. All that an able commander could effect with such a force, under the circumstances by which he was surrounded and overruled, was accomplished by General St. Clair. The brilliant talents of this brave soldier and veteran patriot, were exerted in vain in the wilderness. The wariness and perseverance of Indian warfare, created every day new obstacles and unforeseen dangers; the skill of the experienced leader was baffled, and undisciplined force prevailed over military science. The art of the tactician proved insufficient, when opposed to a countless multitude of wily savages,

protected by the labyrinths of the forest, and aided by the terrors of the climate. At a moment of fancied security, his troops were unexpectedly assailed upon all sides, by a numerous and well organized foe, who had long been hanging upon his flanks, and had become intimately acquainted with his strength, his order of encampment, and the distribution of his force—who knew when to attack and where to strike. The officers acted with their accustomed intrepidity, but the men quickly became panic-struck, and a scene of dreadful confusion ensued; and after a short, though gallant resistance, our troops commenced a disorderly flight. The Indians pursued for about four miles, slaughtering all who fell into their hands, and filling the air with their yells of triumph, until their avidity for plunder called them back to the deserted camp, where the spoils of the vanquished troops were to be divided among the victors. The flight of the dispersed and beaten soldiers, was continued to Fort Jefferson, a distance of thirty miles. The loss on this occasion was mournfully great; thirty-eight officers and nearly six hundred men were slain. A committee of the house of representatives in congress, appointed to investigate the causes of the failure of this expedition, in the most explicit terms, exculpated the commander-in-chief from all blame, and add their opinion, "that as his conduct in all the preparatory arrangements, was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action, furnished strong testimony of his coolness and intrepidity." Judge Marshall remarks, with his usual felicity of manner, "more satisfactory testi-

mony in favor of St. Clair, is furnished by the circumstance, that he still retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of the President."

We shall only allude to the successful campaign of General Wayne. It is too well known to require more particular notice. By dint of rigid discipline, indefatigable exertion, and above all, a remarkable talent for Indian warfare, he redeemed the frontier settlements from destruction, and inflicted a heavy vengeance upon our tawny neighbors.

CHAPTER XVII.

SETTLEMENT OF OHIO.

We have devoted a considerable portion of this volume to the detail of the military adventures of the people of the west, because we have thought proper, in attempting to sketch the spirit of their history, to show the character of difficulties which they were obliged to encounter, as well as the gallant spirit with which those dangers were met and overcome. We shall not repeat, in relation to the newer states, the recital which has been given in reference to Kentucky. The history of the privations and hardships of the pioneer, is everywhere alike romantic and wonderful. The settler came to the wilderness with his family, erected his log cabin, and commenced the arduous labor of clearing away the forest. The obstacles which nature threw in his way, and which were inseparable from his condition, were, in themselves, sufficiently distressing, to have appalled the minds of men not gifted with more than an ordinary fortitude. They left behind them all the comforts of life. They brought but little furniture, but few farming implements, and no store of provisions; until their lands were cleared and brought into culture, and their domestic animals became productive, they depended for subsistence chiefly upon the game of the forest. They ate their fresh meat without salt, without vegetables, and in many instances without bread; and they slept in cabins, hastily erected, of

green logs, and in which they were exposed to much of the inclemency of the weather. To their other sufferings, that of sickness was often added; and they found themselves assailed, in situations where medical assistance could not be procured, by diseases of sudden development and fatal character.

While thus overburthened by toil and assailed by disaster, the settler found employment for all the energy of his character, and all the inventive powers of his mind; the savage was watching with malignant vigilance, to grasp every opportunity to harass the intruder into the hunting grounds of his fathers. Sometimes he contented himself with seizing the horses, or driving away the cattle of the emigrant; depriving the wretched family of the means of support, and reserving the consummation of his vengeance to a future occasion; sometimes with a subtle refinement of cruelty, the Indian warrior crept into a settlement by stealth, and created universal dismay, by stealing away a child, or robbing a family of the wife and mother; sometimes a father was the victim, and the widow and orphans were thrown upon the protection of the friends, who, on such occasions, were never deaf to the claims of the unfortunate; while as often, the yelling band surrounded the peaceful cabin, at the midnight hour, applied the firebrand to the slight fabric, and murdered the whole of its defenceless inmates. Retaliation followed; the backwoodsmen mounted their horses, appointed a leader, and followed the trail of the retreating marauders. If the parties met, the conflict was fierce, and the catastrophe decisive; if the Indians escaped, the blow

fell upon their village, or that of some other tribe, and the spoil taken in the act of reprisal, was often greater than that gained by the original offence. Thus, injury led to revenge, and successful vengeance to repeated hostility and deeply rooted hatred.

We shall now take leave of these military details, and proceed to speak of the civil institutions of the new states.

We have seen, that while Kentucky was becoming settled, Ohio was the chief residence of those numerous and hostile tribes, whose predatory incursions kept the whole frontier in a state of continual terror; and that this country was often made the seat of war, by the retaliatory expeditions which were led into it by the different American leaders. It was not until the year 1788, that an attempt was made to settle the northern shore of the Ohio. A colony from Massachusetts, led by General Putnam and Doctor Cutler, founded the town of Marietta in that year.

The most important settlement, however, in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and the one which led to the most important consequences, was that commenced by Judge Symmes, in the year 1789. This gentleman contracted with congress, for the purchase of a million of acres of land, between the Great and the Little Miami; but in consequence of a failure on his part to make the stipulated payments, did not become the proprietor of so large a tract. The patent which finally issued to him and his associates, included only 311,682 acres, of which only 248,540

became private property; the remainder consisting of reservations for a variety of public purposes, chiefly for the use of schools and the support of religion.

The remark that occurs to us most forcibly, in reverting to this portion of history, is the improvidence of congress, in making so large a grant of lands to individuals. A similar grant was made a few years afterwards to a colony of French settlers, who founded the town of Gallipolis. But, happily for the country, the instances of such extensive grants were few; and it is perhaps equally matter of congratulation, that they did not, in any instance, yield to the individuals concerned in them, advantages sufficiently great, to render the applications for such monopolies numerous or influential. It is, perhaps, chiefly in consequence of this fact, that the evil was avoided; for it does not appear, that congress was at first aware of the calamitous results which must have followed the parceling out of this noble region to a few wealthy proprietors, whose interests would often have been hostile to those of the people. This principle, however, was not at first understood. We can easily see why the foreign sovereignties, under whose sway we were originally placed, should have made, as they frequently did, extensive grants of land to individuals or companies; but it is a little singular, that our own government should have fallen into the same misguided policy. The earliest law passed by congress, for the sale of the lands of the United States, provided for its disposal to purchasers in tracts of four thousand acres each; and did not allow the sell-

ing of a smaller quantity, except with regard to the fractions created by the angles and sinuosities of the rivers. The law was highly unfavorable to actual settlers, as it prevented persons of moderate property from acquiring freeholds; and would have enabled persons of wealth to become the proprietors, and to have sold the land to the cultivator at exorbitant prices, or else have forced the latter to have been the tenants under the former. With the notions that many of our statesmen had derived from the example of Great Britain, and which, notwithstanding our recent disruption from that country, still remain impressed upon us, with all the force of education and association, it is perhaps not surprising, that they should have deemed it advantageous to create a landed aristocracy; but it is more probable, that the error arose from accident and carelessness. It is curious, however, to look back at those first awkward attempts of republican legislation, and to see how gradually we shook off the habits of thought in which we had been trained, and how slowly the shackles of prejudice fell from around us. The plan of selling land in sections and half sections, the former of 640 acres, and the latter of 320 acres, was first proposed in congress, by General Harrison, when a delegate from this territory, in 1799; and produced a sensation, which showed how little matured thought had been bestowed on the subject, in that body. The law was certainly one of the most beneficial tendency; and its passage constitutes a crisis in the history of this country, of perhaps greater magnitude and interest than any

other in our annals; for no act of the government has ever borne so immediately upon the settling, the rapid improvement, and the permanent prosperity of the western states. The ordinance of 1787, is justly regarded as an instrument of vast importance, and singularly propitious consequences; but in its practical operation and salutary results, it sinks in comparison with the system of selling the public domain, which has placed the acquisition of real estate within the reach of the laboring classes, and rendered the titles to land perfectly secure. It is understood, that this act was not the exclusive production of General Harrison; the acute mind and masterly pen of Mr. Gallatin, then a member of congress, were also employed in its production; and although the earnest request of that distinguished citizen, and the circumstances of the moment, forced Mr. Harrison to submit to the credit of being its sole author, the natural ingenuousness of the latter, induced him, subsequently, when he could do so with propriety, to explain his own part in the proceeding, and to give Mr. Gallatin the honor due him. The bill was warmly attacked by some of the ablest men in the lower house. Mr. Harrison defended it alone; he exposed the folly and iniquity of the old system; demonstrated that it could only result to the benefit of the wealthy monopolist, while the hardy and useful population, which has since poured into the fertile plains of Ohio, and made it, in thirty years, the *third* state in the Union, must have been excluded from her borders, or have taken the land on terms dictated by the wealthy purchasers from the government.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CIVIL INSTITUTIONS.

The constitution, laws, and civil institutions of the new states, are worthy of attention, inasmuch as they often exhibit novel experiments in legislation and government. If these are often anomalous, and sometimes absurd, they will more frequently be found to embrace beneficial improvements, which tend to advance the science to which they belong; and they always afford subjects of study, which may be examined with advantage by the enlightened statesman. The original states, which at first formed the American confederacy, having been in existence previous to the revolution, did not create, but rather altered their forms of government; and little change took place in any of the civil departments, whose organization under the new governments, was necessarily adapted to the existing institutions. An entire revolution, which should have pervaded all the details of the municipal policy, would neither have been convenient, nor acceptable to the people; for however averse the colonists might have felt to the tyranny of the British government, there was no general distaste for the laws to which they had always been accustomed. It was not the system of English common law to which they objected, but the perversions of that system by the ministry. Upon separating from the British government, therefore, they did little more than to erect another in its stead,

without changing materially the civil institutions of the country. Many of the absurdities which had been handed down by prejudice, from the days of ignorance and intolerance, became thus ingrafted into our free systems of government, and were suffered to remain, partly from that veneration which we feel for whatever has been consecrated by time, and partly in consequence of a prudent reluctance, on the part of our rulers, to adopt any violent changes. Most of the forms of proceedings in civil courts, the fictions in pleading, the jargon of legal phrases, and even some very important principles, such as imprisonment for debt, and laws against usury, became thus interwoven with our institutions, not from any absolute choice on our part, but simply because we found them in existence.

In legislating for the new states, the people were untrammeled. All was to be created, and they had the examples of the older states to guide or to warn them. The constitutions and laws of the new states, therefore, will be found to exhibit peculiarities, which distinguish them as much from each other as from the older states. In general, they have simplified the details of public business, and curtailed the public expenditures. They have adhered tenaciously to democratic principles, retaining in the hands of the people every power which could be conveniently withheld from the rulers. The great majority of their officers are elected immediately by the people, or by the legislature. Elections are frequent, and the right of suffrage general. The right of the people to instruct their representatives, at all

times, is universally admitted, and in some states, expressly recognized in the constitution. Imprisonment for debt, and laws against usury, are generally abolished, or greatly modified. These, and a few other particulars, in which we have improved upon the legislation of the older states, or preceded them in the march of improvement, furnish subjects worthy of the consideration of the lawyer, the politician, and the historian.

There is another peculiarity in the constitutions of some of the new states, arising out of their relations with the general government. At the time of the confederation of the old thirteen states, all the vacant land within, or upon the boundaries of the individual states, was justly claimed to belong to them respectively; and it became, at an early period, a question of much moment, how far the ownership of such lands, by the original states, and the formation of future states out of them, might affect the peace of the Union. The principle was soon recognized, that the boundaries of the old states should be defined; and that all lands beyond those boundaries, and not included within the limits of any state, should belong to the Union.

This question was not settled without some discussion, and much collision of opinion; and its amicable arrangement, may be attributed to the magnanimity with which Virginia surrendered a claim, which seems to have been better supported than any other. Under the terms of her charter, she claimed an extension of her territory, westwardly, to the utmost limits of the Union—the Mississippi and the

lakes. By the settlement of Kentucky by her citizens, and the organization of civil regulations there, she had occupied the country as far as the Ohio, and left no room for cavil, as to any territory on the eastern shore of that river. Colonel Clarke had carried her victorious arms to the Mississippi, and had formally taken possession of the northwestern territory in her name; the conquered country was erected into a county by the name of Illinois, by the legislature of Virginia, and troops voted for its defence. Virginia, therefore, had all the title which could be given by charter, by conquest, and by possession.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, respectively, advanced claims to parts of the same territory, which were too vague to deserve much consideration, but which served to embarrass the councils of the nation, by the pertinacity with which they were urged; and the United States maintained, that a vacant territory, wrested from the common enemy, by the united arms and common treasure of all the states, ought, of right, to belong to the Union. There was, in this argument, a great deal of plausibility, and some justice, but it was far from being conclusive. The fact, whether the country could be properly called *vacant*, a portion of which was in the possession of Virginia, and all of which was embraced in her charter, admits at least of question; and if a part of the territory alluded to, was conquered by the united arms of all the states, another portion was certainly not thus obtained, but was rescued from the enemy by Virginia, or her citizens.

New York, who had no claim, but that of the Six Nations, over whom she claimed sovereignty, and who are not known to have been ever permanently established in any portion of this region, was the first to relinquish her title. In the year 1780, she authorized her delegates in congress, to agree to the restriction of her western boundary, by such limits as they should deem expedient, annexing to her act the condition only, that the territory to which she relinquished her claim, should be appropriated to the common benefit of all the states embraced within the federal alliance.

In the same year, a resolution was adopted by congress, declaring, that the lands which might be ceded to the United States, by the states individually, should be disposed of for the common benefit; that they should be settled and formed into states, with suitable boundaries, and become members of the federal Union, with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states; that the expenses incurred by any state, in subduing British posts, and in the acquisition of territory, should be reimbursed; and that the lands ceded, should be granted and settled, agreeably to regulations to be made, from time to time, by congress.

The pledge thus given by congress, having removed the scruples of Virginia, that patriotic state agreed to relinquish her valuable domain in the west, for the general good. By the cession of the year 1784, the state of Virgina ceded to the United States, all the right of that commonwealth to the territory northwestward of the river Ohio, upon certain conditions,

which were accepted by congress. These conditions were, in substance, as follows:

That the said territory should be divided into not less than three, nor more than five distinct republican states; which states should be admitted members of the federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states.

That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of "the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages," should have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties.

Certain lands were reserved for General George Rogers Clarke, a warrior illustrious in the history of this country, and the officers and soldiers who served under his command.

All the lands so ceded to the United States, and not reserved as above, "shall be considered as a *common fund*, for the use and benefit of such of the United States, as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their actual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully, and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other purpose whatsoever."

Massachusetts relinquished her pretensions in 1785; while the tardy sacrifice of Connecticut, was made in 1786. Neither of these states seem to have had any title; yet Connecticut persisted in her claim to the last, and was only induced at last, to follow

the example of other states, by a large and valuable consideration in lands; the sale of which, has formed the foundation of her fund for the support of common schools.

South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, respectively ceded to the United States, their lands west of the mountains, extending to the Mississippi.

The United States, having thus become the sole proprietary of what have since been called the *public lands*, the nation was rescued from evils of the most threatening and embarrassing aspect. The claims of foreign nations, adverse to our own, to the expanded regions lying west of the several states, and extending to the Pacific, were extinguished — the boundaries of the then frontier states were defined, and they were prevented from growing to an inordinate size, and acquiring an undue preponderance in the government — the interfering claims of several states to the same territory, were silenced — but above all, the general government, in acquiring the sole jurisdiction over the vacant lands, was enabled to establish an uniform system for their settlement, and the erection of new states. The disinterested policy of the states which made the cessions, cannot be too highly applauded. Virginia, in particular, whose claim was the most extensive, as well as the best supported, and who was in the actual possession of the territory, displayed a magnanimity, which entitles her to the lasting gratitude of the American people.

Having thus acquired the sovereignty and proprietary possession of the public domain, the congress

of the United States proceeded to pass the ordinance of 13th July, 1787, which has since been justly regarded as of the highest importance. By that instrument, it was provided, that the inhabitants in said territory should be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of the government, to be apportioned on them by congress, according to the same common rule and measure, by which apportionments thereof should be made on other states.

"The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, in congress assembled, nor with any regulations congress may find necessary, for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers.

"No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, duty, or impost therefor.

"There shall be formed in said territory, not less than three nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall

become fixed and established, as follows, to wit: The western state in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi. The middle state, shall be bounded by said direct line, the Wabash, from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line, drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state, shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line; provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of said territory, which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southern bend or extreme of lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states, shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government; provided, the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity with the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such

admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state, than sixty thousand.

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided, always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed.

"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education, shall be forever encouraged. The utmost good faith, shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property, shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but laws, founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

The ordinance, proceeded to guaranty to the citizens of the newly acquired territory, those rights which were reserved to the people in the constitutions of the several states, and which were considered as fundamental; the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury — the representation of the people in the legislature, and judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law — religious toleration — security from

immoderate fines, and from cruel and unusual punishments—and the unalienable right to full compensation for property or services required for the public use. And for the just preservation of rights and property, it was declared, "that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall in any manner whatever, interfere with, or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed."

The ordinance, also, contained provisions for the organization and government of the northwestern territory, of which we shall speak separately; the latter being considered as temporary regulations for the present governing of this region, while the principles which we have pointed out were intended as fundamental maxims, of permanent application, upon which the civil and political institutions, thereafter to be established, either by the United States, or the local authorities, were to be based.

CHAPTER XIX.

TERRITORIAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

Kentucky having formed a part of Virginia, until she became a state, was never, at any time, under that peculiar species of government which we term *territorial*, and which forms such a strange anomaly in our republican system. She passed at once, to the dignity of a sovereign state, without being obliged to undergo the disagreeable vassalage of that colonial existence, to which the newer states have been, unavoidably, forced to submit, during their minority.

Previously to her elevation to the dignity of a state, we find her citizens frequently assembled in convention, to consider the situation of the country, to petition for the redress of grievances, and to suggest to the legislature of Virginia, such laws as would be acceptable to the western people, and suited to the circumstances in which they were placed. It is remarkable, that although in Virginia, the right of suffrage had always been, and still continues to be, confined to freeholders, the Kentuckians, their descendants, did not, even in the earliest exercise of their elective franchise, require that the voters should possess a property qualification. In selecting delegates to those voluntary assemblages, as well as to the subsequent constitutional bodies, the people all voted.

The state constitution of Kentucky, framed in 1792, will be found to bear a close analogy to that of

the United States, then recently adopted. The one, like the other, was the result of the principles which led to the revolution; and the fruit of the experience, the pure patriotism, and the mature thought, of those sages who had brought the whole energies of their minds to bear upon the subjects connected with the social state, and the political rights of man. These principles had been ably developed, and widely disseminated, in books, pamphlets, and newspaper essays, in which were contained, a force of argument, a beauty of style, and a richness of classical allusion, such as the writers of our country have not exhibited, to a great extent, at any subsequent period. The Federalist, especially, written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, stands unrivalled among political treatises, a splendid specimen of profound thought, acute reasoning, and elegant composition.

It is, therefore, not surprising, that the constitutions formed at that early period of our history, and in the very infancy of our political existence, should have furnished models for all that have been subsequently made, and that the principles contained in them, should have continued to be recognized as sound and practical. But few discoveries in the science of government have been made, since that time, in reference to maxims which are considered fundamental; though many improvements have been introduced in relation to the details of public business, and the exercise of civil rights, which have given beauty to the system, and added facility to its operations.

The constitution of Kentucky, had been in operation but three years, when an attempt was made in

the legislature, in 1795, to call a convention, for the purpose of having it amended; not on account of any objection to its principles, but in consequence of a popular ferment, occasioned by the non-passage by the legislature, of "An act concerning occupying claimants of land." This act passed the house of representatives, in 1794, but was rejected in the senate, then, and each succeeding year, until '97, when it passed. The senate, having refused to pass a popular act, it was plausibly objected, that the constitution must be defective, which retained in office, for several years, independently of the people, the senators who refused to obey the popular voice. But, it was not until after several elections, and much fierce contention, that a convention was actually called, which, in 1799, remodeled the constitution.

In the new constitution, the objection which had been urged against the one previously in force, does not appear to have been obviated. It would seem, that upon mature reflection, the people did not object to the term for which their senators were chosen. The best evidence of the causes which suggested the propriety of a change in the constitution, is to be found in the changes themselves, which were, doubtless, such as experience pointed out as necessary. By the first constitution, the governor and senators were chosen by electors, who were elected by the people; by the second constitution, these officers were chosen directly by the people. Under the first constitution, the sheriffs were elected by the people; the new constitution provided, that, "when the time of a sheriff for any county may be about to expire, the

county court for the same, (a majority of all its justices being present), shall, in the months of September, October, or November next preceding thereto, recommend to the governor two proper persons to fill the office, who are then justices of the county court; and who shall, in such recommendation, pay a just regard to seniority in office, and a regular rotation. One of the persons, so recommended, shall be commissioned by the governor, and shall hold his office for two years, if he so long behave well, and until a successor be duly qualified." The effect of this arrangement, which is by far the best mode of selecting sheriffs, that has been practised in the United States, has been, to give the office, in regular rotation, to the senior magistrate of the county. The only other change in the constitution, provided for the election, by the people, of a lieutenant governor, who is, *ex officio*, speaker of the senate, which last officer, had previously been elected by the senate.

The territory northwest of the Ohio, having become the property of the United States, and its population not being sufficiently numerous to authorize the erection of the state governments provided for in the ordinance, it became necessary for congress to devise some plan, by which the inhabitants might enjoy the protection of law, and the operation of civil regulations. The national legislature was called upon to make laws for a people, who had no voice in electing the members of that body, and no representative upon its floor—to govern a territory belonging to the Union, yet not strictly embraced within it.

The form of government thus devised, to suit the exigency of a case not previously contemplated, and not provided for in the organization of the federal Union, was contained in the ordinance of 1787, before alluded to.

The whole territory lying north and west of the Ohio, extending to the Mississippi and to the northern lakes, was comprehended within one district, for temporary government. Provision was made for the appointment, by congress, of a governor, who should hold his office for three years, who should reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in one thousand acres of land; a secretary, to continue in office four years, to reside in the district, and have a freehold therein of five hundred acres; and a court, to consist of three judges, to reside in the district, to possess a freehold of five hundred acres each, and to hold their commissions during good behavior.

"The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, *such laws of the original states*, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to congress, from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district, until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress; but afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit."

All magistrates and other civil officers, and all militia officers below the grade of general officers, were to be appointed by the governor; general officers in the militia, were to be appointed by congress.

The sole power of dividing the district into counties and townships, was also vested in the governor.

The simple form of government thus provided, and which served as the model of those of other territories, subsequently erected, as they successively came into operation, was termed, in popular language, the *first grade* of territorial government. It will be perceived, that under this organization, the people of the territory had no voice, nor any representation; the whole legislative power being reserved by congress, except the portion which was delegated to the governor and judges, while the latter were restrained from adopting any laws, but such as were already in force in some of the states of the Union; and the appointing power vested in the governor, was more extensive than has ever been entrusted by any state to its chief magistrate. This, however, was considered as merely a temporary arrangement, of brief continuance; and the most ample provision was made, in the same ordinance, for the gradual extension to the people of the right of suffrage, and the power of self-government.

The following article, prescribes the mode by which the territory was permitted to advance from the *first* to the *second grade* of territorial government.

"So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives, from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly; provided, that for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall

be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which, the number and proportion of the representatives, shall be regulated by the legislature; provided, that no person shall be eligible, or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident of the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; provided, also, that a freehold of fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being a resident of the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

"The representative thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years.

"The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council, shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by congress, any three of whom to be a quorum; and the members of the council, shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: as soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents of the

district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint, and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to congress; one of whom, congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months, at least, before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to congress; five of whom, congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve, the general assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

"As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house, assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to congress, who shall have a seat in con-

gress, with the right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government."

This ordinance was passed by the congress assembled under the articles of confederation, and an act was subsequently passed, on the 7th August, 1789, merely making such alterations as the adoption of the constitution of the United States, since the passage of the ordinance, had rendered necessary. The only important change, was the vesting in the president of the United States the appointing power, which had previously been exercised by congress.

An examination of the ordinance of 1787, furnishes some interesting matter for reflection. It contains several provisions besides those which we have extracted, by which certain rights are declared to be unalterably reserved to the people, and which are merely declaratory of the principles which were then considered as fundamental, and necessary to the republican form of government. Those which we have omitted, are such as are common to the constitutions of the United States, and the individual states. But we find intermingled with some of the noblest principles of benevolence, and some of the soundest maxims of republicanism, other features of policy, which are not consonant with the notions of government which now prevail, nor with the ideas of popular right, which experience has taught, and on which the wisdom of the nation has settled down.

The power vested in a territorial governor, was very great. He not only made nearly all the appointments within his district, erected counties, and fixed their geographical boundaries; but he com-

pletely controled the legislature, by possessing beyond the ordinary power of giving sanction to their laws by his assent, that of convening, proroguing, and dissolving, the general assembly, at his pleasure.

The intervention of congress, in the selection of the members of one branch of the general assembly, and the reservation of the right to remove the members, was also a singular feature in that ordinance; and exhibits a jealousy of the popular will, and a doubt of the capacity of the people to think for themselves, which all subsequent experience has shown to be without foundation.

In relation to all the officers appointed by congress, except the judges, after limiting the terms during which their commissions shall continue in force, it is carefully stated, "*unless sooner revoked;*" a precaution, which shows the determination of the federal government, not only to legislate for her territories, but to reserve the patronage, and hold in her own hands the reins of government.

But the most remarkable feature in the ordinance, is that by which both the right of suffrage, and that of eligibility to office, are made dependent upon a property qualification. The people of Kentucky, coming from the body of the citizens of Virginia, where a property qualification existed, and was a favorite principle, resorted, without hesitation, to the practice of universal suffrage, at a period cotemporaneous with the date of this ordinance, as well as in previous and subsequent elections, and incorporated it in their constitution; while the congress,

composed of representatives from states, a majority of which recognized the doctrine of universal suffrage, and adopted it as a principle of the national constitution, repudiated the same principle, in legislating for the territories under the control of the government. The practice thus introduced into the western country, under the sanction of congress, did not, however, find favor in the eyes of the people; and has not been perpetuated in the constitutions of any of the new states, which have been subsequently formed in this region.

By an act of May 7, 1800, the northwest territory was divided into two parts, and placed under separate territorial governments; the western division was called Indiana.

On the 3d of March, 1803, an act was passed by congress, authorizing the people of the eastern division of the territory northwest of the Ohio, to form a state government, under certain conditions, mutually proposed by the people of the territory on the one hand, and the government of the United States on the other. Those conditions were as follows: in addition to several special grants of land, the United States granted the section of land numbered sixteen, in every township, to the inhabitants thereof, in perpetuity, for the use of schools. There being thirty-six sections in each township, this donation, as it is improperly termed, in this and other acts, amounted to one thirty-sixth part of the whole territory; the United States agreeing, in certain specified cases, where the land had been already appropriated, to grant an equivalent, in other lands, and extending the

grant of school lands to all subsequent purchases of territory to be made from the Indians, within the state of Ohio. It was further provided, that not less than three per cent. of the net proceeds of the lands of the United States, lying within the limits of the state of Ohio, sold, or to be sold, after the 30th day of June, 1802, after deducting all expenses incidental to the sale, should be applied to laying out roads within the state, under the direction of the legislature. And the state agreed, in consideration of these grants, that the land sold by congress, within Ohio, after June 30, 1802, should remain exempt from taxation, for five years from the day of sale. We have said, that the grants of land for schools and other purposes, were improperly called donations, because the yielding on the part of the state, of the right of taxation, on all the other lands, for five years, was a valuable consideration; and it would require but little calculation to show, that the tax on the thirty-five sections of land, for five years, might be an ample equivalent for the fee simple of one section.

We shall not proceed to give a regular analysis of the constitution of Ohio, as it resembles, in its main features, those of the other states.

The general assembly convenes annually; the senators serve two years, and the members of the house of representatives one year.

No other qualification is required, to render an individual eligible to sit in the general assembly, and to confer the right of suffrage, than those of citizen-

ship, residence, and the payment of a state or county tax.

The supreme court consists of three judges, and power is given to the legislature to add a fourth. They have "original and appellate jurisdiction, both in common law and chancery, in such cases as shall be directed by law." The practical result of this organization is, that the supreme court is not considered as having any specific jurisdiction conferred upon it, but only made capable of receiving any jurisdiction which the legislature may be pleased to confer. Besides sitting in bank, at the seat of government, for the decision of appeals on questions of law, the judges hold terms in the counties, and try, *de novo*, the cases brought before them by appeal from the inferior courts.

The courts of common pleas are composed of a president, and associate judges. The president judges are usually selected from the bar, under the idea, that it is expedient that one member of the court should possess some knowledge of the law; but the associate judges are chosen without reference to their education, or professional knowledge, and they are, in fact, not usually lawyers. The state, therefore, pays several judges in each circuit, while the duties are discharged by one.

The judges of the supreme court, and courts of common pleas, are elected by the legislature, and hold their offices for the term of seven years, "if so long they behave well." Each court appoints its own clerk, for the term of seven years.

Justices of the peace are elected by the qualified voters in each township, and continue in office three years.

Elections are by ballot.

Slavery is prohibited.

The legislature is prohibited from levying any poll tax, for county or state purposes.

It is provided, "that every association of persons, when regularly formed, within the state, and having given themselves a name, may, on application to the legislature, be entitled to receive letters of incorporation, to enable them to hold estates, real and personal, for the support of their schools, academies, colleges, universities, and for other purposes."

"The person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison, after delivering his estate for the benefit of his creditor or creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law."

CHAPTER XX.

TERRITORIAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

The same process which we have described in relation to Ohio, was carried forward in reference to the other states which were formed in the western country, successively. We shall, therefore, only furnish the reader with such *memoranda* as may enable him to trace the history of this legislation, more particularly should he be so disposed.

By an act of May 7, 1800, the northwestern territory was divided into two parts, and placed under separate territorial governments; the western part was called Indiana, and extended from the western line of Ohio, to the Mississippi.

By an act of January 11, 1805, the territory of Michigan was formed out of Indiana.

By an act of February 26, 1808, the right of suffrage was extended in Indiana; and by an act of February 27, 1809, that territory was authorized to send a delegate to congress.

The acts of March 3, 1811, and March 4, 1814, relate to the right of suffrage and eligibility to office in Indiana; by the first, the inhabitants, without regard to property, are permitted to vote; by the second, provision was made for laying off the territory into districts, for the election of members of the legislative council.

After the admission of Ohio into the Union, as a sovereign state, the term northwestern territory, was

merged into those of Ohio and Indiana, and has not since been used.

By an act of February 3, 1809, all that part of Indiana territory, which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line drawn from that river and Post Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was constituted into a separate territory, by the name of Illinois; and the first grade of territorial government, as heretofore described, was established therein.

By the act of May 20, 1812, the right of suffrage was extended to the inhabitants of Illinois, without any property qualification; the territory passed from the first to the second grade of territorial government, and was empowered to send a delegate to congress.

On the 19th of April, 1816, the inhabitants of Indiana were authorized to form a constitution and state government, and to assume such name as they might deem proper; and were admitted into the Union by a resolution of congress of December 11, 1816.

The following are some of the points of the constitution of this state.

The term of service of the governor is three years, and he is not eligible for more than two terms successively.

The senators serve three years, and the members of the house of representatives one year.

The right of suffrage is extended to every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who has resided in

the state one year immediately preceding the election at which he claims to vote. Persons enlisted in the army of the United States, or their allies, are excluded from suffrage.

Elections to be by ballot.

The judiciary power is vested, both as to matters of law and equity, in one supreme court, in circuit courts, and in such other inferior courts as the general assembly may, from time to time, direct and establish.

The supreme court consists of three judges, with appellate jurisdiction only.

The circuit courts consist, each, of a president and two associate judges, with original jurisdiction in common law, chancery, and criminal cases.

The judges of the supreme, circuit, and other courts, hold their offices during the term of seven years, if they shall so long behave well.

The judges of the supreme court are appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate; the presidents of the circuit courts are appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the general assembly; and the associate judges are elected by the qualified voters in the respective counties. The supreme court appoints its own clerk; the clerks of the circuit court are elected by the qualified voters in the several counties.

Slavery is prohibited.

The following provision is peculiar.

"Every twelfth year after this constitution shall have taken effect, at the general election held for governor, there shall be a poll opened, in which the qualified electors of the state shall express, by vote,

whether they are in favor of calling a convention or not; and if there should be a majority of all the votes given at such election, in favor of a convention, the governor shall inform the next general assembly thereof, whose duty it shall be, to provide by law for the election of members to the convention, the number thereof, and the time and place of their meeting; which law shall not be passed, unless agreed to by a majority of all the members elected to both branches of the general assembly; and which convention, when met, shall have it in their power to revise, amend, or change the constitution. But, as holding any part of the human creation in slavery, or involuntary servitude, can only originate in usurpation and tyranny, no alteration of this constitution shall ever take place, so as to introduce slavery or involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

The diffusion of knowledge generally through the community, is recognized especially as being essential to the preservation of a free government. It is made the duty of the legislature to provide, by law, for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.

"The general assembly, at the time they lay off a new county, shall cause at least ten per cent. to be reserved out of the proceeds of the sale of town lots, in the seat of justice of such county, for the use of a public library for such county."

The legislature is prohibited from incorporating any bank except a state bank and its branches.

To Indiana, as well as to all the other new states, grants of land were made by congress for the support of schools, under similar conditions to those which have been mentioned in reference to Ohio.

It will be readily remarked, upon referring to the various acts relating to the admission of new states into the Union, that congress has invariably claimed, and exercised the power, of prescribing conditions of admission, to the people applicant. Whatever might be the decision in a case where such power was denied, as in the instance of the admission of Missouri, there can be no question, that where it is yielded, and the terms of admission agreed upon, they become binding upon both parties. A people suing for admission into the Union, may object to the conditions proposed by congress, and may rightfully obtain for themselves, admission on such terms, as suit their own views—in other words, make the best terms they can; but having gained admission by solemnly agreeing to any conditions which may have been proposed to them, we cannot for a moment indulge the belief, that they can, in good faith, violate such a compact.

The inhabitants of Illinois, were authorized to form a state government, by an act of April 18, 1818, and were admitted into the Union, December 3, 1818.

The conditions imposed on Illinois, in addition to those which had been already settled, by the cession from Virginia, and the ordinance of 1787, were as follows:

The United States give to the state, one section of land in every township, "for the use of the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools."

They grant to the state all salt springs, and the lands reserved for the use of the same, "provided, that the legislature shall never sell, nor lease the same, for a longer period than ten years, at any one time."

They give the state five per cent. of the net proceeds of all land sales within the state, "two-fifths to be disbursed under the direction of congress, in making roads leading to the state; the residue to be appropriated by the legislature of the state for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university."

They give two entire townships for the use of a seminary of learning.

In consideration of the premises, the state of Illinois agrees to exempt all lands sold by the United States from taxation, for five years from the date of sale; to exempt, in like manner, the bounty lands, while they continue to be held by the patentees or their heirs, for three years from the dates of the patents; and that the lands of non-resident owners, shall not be taxed higher than the lands of residents.

The following are some of the principal features in the constitution of that state.

The legislative authority is vested in a general assembly, consisting of a senate, the members of which are elected for four years, and a house of representatives elected for two years.

"The number of representatives shall not be less than twenty-seven, nor more than thirty-six, until the number of inhabitants within the state amount to one hundred thousand; and the number of senators shall never be less than one-third, nor more than one-half, the number of representatives."

The executive power is vested in a governor, who is elected by the people for four years; and he is not eligible for two terms in succession. At the election for governor, a lieutenant governor is also chosen, who is speaker of the senate, and on whom, in case the governor vacates his office, the duties of governor devolve.

The representatives, and one-half the senators, are elected biennally, on the first Monday in August; and the governor is chosen every fourth year, on the same day.

The governor receives a salary fixed by law, which cannot be reduced during his continuance in office; the lieutenant governor, and members of the legislature, receive a per diem allowance, for each day's actual service; every legislature prescribing its own pay, by a special appropriation.

The general assembly meets once in two years, at Vandalia, on the first Monday in December, next following the election; and the governor is authorized to convene it, on extraordinary occasions, at other times.

The governor, together with the judges of the supreme court, constitute a council of revision, with the power to approve, or disapprove the bills about to be passed into laws by the legislature. If a

majority of the council approve any bill sent to them, it becomes a law. If they retain a bill sent to them, ten days, it becomes a law. If they object to a bill, they are required to return the same, with their objections in writing, to the branch in which it originated; and the bill may then be amended to suit the objections of the council, or passed, notwithstanding their dissent, by a majority of all the members elected.

All white male inhabitants, above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state six months, next preceding an election, have the right of suffrage.

No person holding an office under the United States, or this state, except postmasters, and justices of the peace, can be a member of the legislature. No person holding an office of honor or profit under the United States, can hold an office under this state.

The judicial power is vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts, as the general assembly may establish. The judges are appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the general assembly, and hold their offices during good behavior.

The supreme and circuit courts have power to appoint their own clerks.

The judges of the supreme and inferior courts, are to have competent salaries, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Slavery is prohibited.

"The mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation, so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property" in his possession.

There shall be no other banks or monied institu-

tions in this state but those already provided for by law, except a state bank and its branches, which may be established and regulated by the general assembly, as they may think proper.

The people have a right to instruct their representatives.

In prosecutions for libel, the truth may be given in evidence.

No person shall be imprisoned for debt, unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate, for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, or in cases where there is a strong presumption of fraud.

There is a county court, composed of three commissioners, elected every two years by the people, which has jurisdiction in all matters relating to the county revenue.

An accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of public money, shall be attached to, and published with the laws, at the rising of each general assembly.

The state treasurer, auditor, attorney general, and public printer, are, under the constitution, elected by the general assembly.

The rest of the constitution conforms with the usual frame of those instruments throughout the Union.

Missouri, after passing through the different grades of territorial government, was authorized, by an act approved March 6, 1820, to form a constitution and state government; and similar conditions were extended to her, in relation to grants of land for the

support of schools, as have been detailed in reference to the other states. Her constitution differs but little from those which we have noticed.

The term of service of the governor is four years, and he is not eligible for two terms in succession.

Senators are chosen every four years, and members of the house of representatives every two years.

The legislature meets once in two years.

Ministers of the gospel, are excluded from sitting in the general assembly, and from holding any office of profit, except that of justice of the peace.

Slavery is tolerated.

"The judicial powers, as to matters of law and equity, shall be vested in a supreme court, in a chancellor, in circuit courts, and in such inferior tribunals as the legislature may, from time to time, ordain and establish."

The supreme court consists of three judges, and has appellate jurisdiction only. It has power to issue writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto, certiorari, and other original remedial writs, and to hear and determine the same.

A single judge presides in the circuit court, which has the usual original jurisdiction.

"The governor shall nominate, and by and with the consent of the senate, appoint the judges of the supreme court, the judges of the circuit court, and the chancellor; each of whom shall hold his office during good behavior, and shall receive, for his services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during his continuance in office, and which shall not be less than two thousand dollars annually."

The courts, respectively, appoint their own clerks, who hold their offices during good behavior.

"Schools, and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged in this state."

"The legislature may incorporate one banking company, and no more, to be in operation at the same time."

CHAPTER XXI.

LAWS.

We should far exceed our limits, if we were to attempt any analysis of the laws of the new states on a scale sufficiently minute to be satisfactory. To give, however, a specimen of the spirit of the legislation, we shall proceed to give some account of the laws of Illinois; that being the state with whose civil institutions we are best acquainted.

When we say that the laws of a state are frequently changed, we usually mean the *details* of the law; for there are certain general principles, which are always regarded as landmarks, and which, in every country, may be considered as somewhat permanent. In a popular government, even long established and fundamental principles are sometimes infringed, through inadvertence or ignorance, and they are sometimes deliberately discarded; but, so far as our observation extends, we think that legal principles are not, generally speaking, either frequently or hastily changed. Our object, therefore, will be, to give a brief outline of such principal laws as we consider most permanent, and which form characteristic features in the policy of the country, without noticing those municipal regulations, which are changed at every session of the legislature.

In reviewing the constitutions and laws of the new states, as well as the changes which have occurred in the older states, it will be seen, that the departures

from long established usages, have tended gradually, and almost uniformly, to democracy. Public officers have been, from time to time, stripped of all powers not thought to be actually necessary to the exercise of their official functions; salaries have been reduced, the terms of service abridged, and the right of suffrage extended, wherever practicable. The criminal codes have been ameliorated, legal proceedings simplified, laws for the collection of debts divested of their harshness, and a disposition manifested to trust more to the moral force of public sentiment, and less to the mere physical power of legal coercion.

In Illinois, the power of the executive is but small, and its patronage almost nothing. The great majority of the public officers are elected by the people directly, or by their representatives in the general assembly. Appropriations of public money seldom pass through the hands of the governor, or are made subject to his order; but are usually placed under the immediate control of the persons appointed to disburse them. No house is provided for his residence, at the public expense, nor is he required to reside at the seat of government.

The courts are modeled chiefly upon the judiciary system of Kentucky. There is a supreme court composed of one chief justice and three associates, with appellate jurisdiction only, except in cases relating to the revenue of the state, in cases of mandamus, and in such cases of impeachment as may be required to be tried before it. Two judges form a quorum. In the decision of appeals from inferior tribunals, where the court is equally divided, the

decision of the court below stands affirmed. One term of this court is held annually, at the seat of government, and continues until all the business is disposed of. All its functions, as a court, are performed in bank. It appoints its own clerk and reporter. The judges, separately, grant writs of error, habeas corpus, certiorari, and injunction, in vacation.

The next in rank, is the circuit court. The whole state is divided into five circuits, in each of which a single judge presides. Two terms are held in each year, in every connty. This court has original jurisdiction in all criminal cases, and in all civil suits, where the amount in controversy is more than twenty dollars. An appeal lies to it from the county courts, courts of probate, and justices of the peace. The judges appoint their own clerks, who hold their offices during good behavior. There is a chancery side to this court. The decisions of the circuit court may be reviewed in the supreme court.

This court was held originally by the supreme judges, who presided singly in the circuit courts, and jointly in the supreme court. The obvious inconvenience of that arrangement, induced the legislature, at the session of 1824–5, to appoint five circuit judges, leaving to the supreme judges the duties alone properly belonging to their own court. At the following session, the legislature repealed the act under which the circuit judges were appointed, removed them from office, and recurred to the former arrangement. But the rapid extension of the population rendering it impracticable for four individuals to per-

form the duties, a fifth circuit was afterwards created, and one circuit judge appointed, by whom, with the four supreme judges, these courts are now held.

The weight of business, with a conviction that is rapidly gaining ground, that the ends of justice are not best obtained by having the original and appellate jurisdictions vested in the same individuals, must soon induce a recurrence to the circuit system, as contemplated by the constitution.

There is an attorney general and four circuit attornies, who prosecute in criminal cases, on the part of the people. The only distinction between these officers is, that the attorney general, receives a little larger compensation than the "state's attornies," and is obliged, in addition to the duties of the circuit, to give written opinions to executive officers, on questions touching their official duties, and to prosecute civil suits on the part of the state.

The county commissioners' court is a court of record, composed of three commissioners, elected every two years, by the people. Its jurisdiction is now confined to the concerns of the counties respectively. It levies the county taxes; appoints a county treasurer, and settles his accounts; appropriates the funds of the county; establishes election districts; selects jurors for the circuit court; establishes, alters, or abolishes roads; appoints supervisors of roads; apportions the road labor among the inhabitants; and has a general superintendence of county business.

A judge of probate is appointed in each county, who holds a court of record; receives the probate of

wills; grants letters of administration; settles the accounts of intestates; and has jurisdiction in most cases concerning administrators, executors, and orphans.

Justices of the peace are elected every four years, by the people; for which purpose, the counties are divided into districts, in each of which, two justices are elected, except that which includes the county seat, in which there are four; but the jurisdiction of the justice is co-extensive with the county. This mode of electing justices was highly disapproved by many, when it was adopted; but the evils which were anticipated, have not been realized; and after a trial of four years, it seems to be now conceded, that though subject to some weighty objections, it is, upon the whole, the mode least liable to abuse, and most satisfactory to the people. The civil jurisdiction of the justices, extends to cases where the amount in controversy is not more than one hundred dollars, except an administrator or executor be a party, in which case, the limit is twenty dollars; and their criminal jurisdiction, is that usually exercised by the same officer in other states, except in prosecutions for assault and battery, and affrays; which offences, instead of being indictable, are punishable by the verdict of a jury before a justice of the peace.

Candidates for admission to the bar, are personally examined by two judges of the supreme court; and on getting a license from them, may practice in any court in the state. No particular term of study, or

of residence, is prescribed. Testimonials of good moral character are required.

The forms of special pleading are preserved. The practice conforms to that of the English courts, as nearly as the difference of our institutions will admit. Perhaps, taken as a whole, it is less vitiated by the corruptions introduced to gratify the popular prejudices against lawyers and legal technicalities, than that of almost any other state.

A negro, Indian, or mulatto, is not allowed to be a witness in any court, or in any case, against a white person. Persons having one fourth part negro blood, are adjudged to be mulattoes. The right of suffrage, and of holding office, and the duties of citizenship, such as serving on juries, in the militia, &c., are confined to whites. A person bringing a slave into this state, for the purpose of setting him free, must, under a heavy penalty, enter into bond, conditioned, that such manumitted slave shall not become chargeable to the public as a pauper. Every colored person coming into the state to reside, must file documentary evidence of his freedom in the office of the clerk of the circuit court of the county in which he may reside, and give bond, with security, for his maintenance and good behavior. Failure to comply with these regulations, subjects the party to be considered and treated as a runaway slave. In consequence of these salutary arrangements, this state has not become a retreat for runaway slaves, or free negroes.

A penitentiary has lately been built, and the criminal code has been so altered, as to substitute, in a

variety of cases, the discipline of the penitentiary system for the punishments heretofore inflicted.

The proceedings formerly had, under the common law writ of *habeas corpus*, are now regulated by statute. The act is long and somewhat special, setting forth a variety of cases in which the writ may issue, and specifying, particularly, the proceedings under it.

Aliens may take and hold real estate, by descent or purchase; may alienate or transmit the same to their heirs, or have dower, in the same manner as citizens.

Divorces are granted by the courts of chancery; and the facility with which they may be obtained under our laws, is quite as great as is desirable. Besides the ordinary causes, habitual drunkenness, extreme and repeated cruelty, or absence for two years, on the part of either party, is esteemed a sufficient ground of divorce. Marriages have been dissolved, in many instances, by the legislature of this and other states; but there can be little question that such acts are wholly nugatory. The marriage contract is a civil contract, which not only subjects the contracting parties to certain duties and liabilities, but affects their property, and reaches, in its consequences, to their descendants. The legislature cannot violate the obligation of a contract; and however this constitutional maxim may have been construed, in passing laws to regulate a whole class of existing contracts, as in the enacting of stay laws, &c., or in cases where the operation of a statute has been indirect, there can hardly be a doubt as to the illegality

of annulling, by law, a contract between individuals, which in itself is legal. The proceeding is, besides, *ex parte*, commenced on the application of one of the contracting parties, without notice to the other, and without evidence, except such as is furnished by the applicant; and the legislature, which is prohibited from performing any judicial functions, except in a few specified cases, thus adjudicates upon the most important rights of the citizen.

The several acts to restrain and punish gambling, are very severe; and have co-operated with public opinion, to render this detestable vice decidedly unpopular.

Persons who have been engaged in dueling, as principals, seconds, or accessories, are disqualified from holding any office of profit, trust, or emolument, civil or military; besides being punishable for murder, if death ensues within one year from the time of the duel.

The state is divided into counties; every county is, by its proper officers, a corporation, with ample powers to collect a revenue, transact business, and maintain suit. There is no organization of townships, or parishes, for civil purposes. Under a general law, towns or villages containing not less than one hundred and fifty inhabitants, may become incorporated, by their own act, by consent of two-thirds of the white male inhabitants.

The county commissioners are *ex officio* overseers of the poor; but the law creating them such, is, practically, a dead letter. There is, in fact, no system of poor laws. The state of society in this country, has

not yet indicated a necessity for any provision for the support of paupers. At some of the towns bordering on the large navigable rivers, where indigent strangers are frequently, in consequence of sickness, the destruction of a boat, or other accident, thrown ashore under circumstances requiring relief, the inhabitants have been obliged to call on the county courts for aid; but these exceptions have been few.

General elections are held biennally, on the first Monday in August. For this purpose, the counties are divided, by the county commissioners, into any convenient number of "election precincts," or districts, not more than eight in each county; three judges, having the qualifications of voters, are appointed by the county commissioners, in each district; and the judges appoint two clerks at each precinct. The polls are kept open for one day only; the people vote *viva voce*. Every white male inhabitant, of full age, having resided in the state six months, may vote.

Every male inhabitant is required to labor upon the public roads three days in each year, or to pay one dollar in lieu of each day's labor required. Male inhabitants, owning property worth more than one hundred dollars, may be called upon for a further contribution, in labor or money, in proportion to the value of their property.

No system of public schools has yet been organized. An act of the legislature is in existence, authorizing the sale of the sixteenth, or school section of land, in any township in which the people shall signify their assent, in the manner prescribed by

the law; but it is not supposed, that the sales under this law will be numerous, or that any general movement in favor of education will result from it. The messages of the governors, and the proceedings of the legislature, contain such frequent allusions to the subject of education, as to show, that those who are best acquainted with public sentiment, consider it a popular topic. We suppose that there is no one subject on which the public voice would be as unanimous, as it would be in favor of a cheap, general, and practical system of primary schools.

Several attempts have been made to appropriate the school fund, and to bring into existence a system of common schools, none of which have proved effective. There is a decided wish to act on this important subject, but there are insuperable objections to any premature action. The population is so thinly scattered at present, as to render it difficult to organize any system which shall disseminate its benefits even to a majority of those who need them. But the greatest obstacle to any beneficial action, at this time, arises from the want of an accurate knowledge of details, in relation to the fiscal and the practical parts of such a system. A connected plan of instruction, to embrace the whole of a state, is a vast, and somewhat complicated machine; and it cannot be expected, that those who have never witnessed the operation of such a system, should be able to understand its bearings, or to devise the best measures for its adoption. The legislature acts wisely in delaying this great measure, until the necessary information can be collected.

Persons who lay off new towns, or additional lots to towns, already laid out, are required, in every instance, to make a plot or plan of such town or addition, and record the same in the office of the recorder of the proper county; by which act, the lines and divisions become established by law.

There were, until recently, no usury laws. Lately, a law was passed, prohibiting usurious contracts. Where the parties have not prescribed the rate of interest, the law fixes it at six per cent. per annum.

If the proceedings of the legislature may be considered as indicative of public sentiment, the latter may be asserted to be decidedly hostile to corporations. Applications for charters of incorporation, for various purposes, have been repeatedly rejected, although such charters have sometimes been granted. The constitution prohibits the incorporation of any banking institution, except a state bank and its branches; and it is doubtful whether any monied incorporation would at this time be tolerated.

It has been well contended, that by the aggregation of a large capital, in the hands of a few individuals, they acquire advantages over the individual trader, which enable them to oppress him, and control the market. This doctrine may be carried too far; for some purposes, corporations are necessary and beneficial, but they should be confined to such cases. There is, also, in this country, a great repugnance against allowing such companies to accumulate large possessions in real estate; or giving them powers under which they might carry on any of the operations properly belonging to a bank, espe

cially lending money, or issuing paper for general circulation, in lieu of money.

In several instances, acts of incorporation for seminaries of learning, and for religious associations, have been refused by the legislature; and one institution of learning has been incorporated, with an express provision, that no theological department shall ever be attached to it. This is another indication of public sentiment in this state, or at least of the policy of the legislature. There seems to be a great dread among the lawgivers, of religious domination, and of sectarian influence. Bills for acts to incorporate religious societies, for the single purpose of enabling them to hold a few acres of ground for their meeting-house and grave-yard, have been more than once introduced and rejected. No college, or other institution of learning, in which any one religious sect is known to have a predominant influence, has ever yet received a charter in this state; nor will any such institution ever be incorporated there, unless public sentiment shall undergo a radical change. This prejudice is deeply to be deplored. If religious denominations think proper to educate their children in their own tenets, they have a clear right to do so, and to establish schools for the purpose; it is enough for those who object to the exertion of sectarian influence upon the young mind, to withhold their support from institutions which they disapprove. The granting a charter to a literary institution, confers upon it no moral power, stamps no authority upon the tenets of the persons who control it, nor affects, in the slightest degree, any of

the rights of conscience. It merely gives to such an institution, facilities for the transaction of its financial concerns, and for the safe keeping of the funds bestowed on it, by the benevolent, for public and beneficial purposes. It gives vigor and security to its pecuniary transactions, but adds nothing to its literary reputation. In a country, where religious opinions are perfectly unshackled, and men may believe and worship as they please, it seems to be unfair, that they should not be allowed every facility for educating their children according to the dictates of their own judgment; and we doubt, whether it is not a violation, of the spirit at least, of our free institutions, to refuse to a religious society, the ordinary facilities of law, for the protection of its property, the management of its concerns, and the dissemination of its opinions. The truth is, that the best colleges in the United States are sectarian; each of them, is under the direct patronage and influence of a religious sect. No college, from which such influence has been excluded, by express prohibition, has been successful. The reason of this seems to be, that the business of education falls naturally into the hands of the clergy. It comes legitimately within the sphere of their duties. They are fitted for it by the nature of their studies and pursuits; while liberally educated men, in other professions, could only become qualified for the business of tuition, by the sacrifice of their other avocations. Those avocations are too lucrative and honorable, to be abandoned by men of talents, for the humble and precarious calling of the teacher or professor. If we depend on the

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clergy to superintend and carry on the education of our youth, we must permit them to divide into sects, for they will not labor harmoniously in any other manner. It is proper, however, to remark, that this jealousy of sectarian influence, may be owing, in some measure, to the illiberality of denominational feeling. It has more than once happened, that the religious of one sect, have either indirectly opposed the applications of another denomination, for incorporation, or have witnessed their failure with cold indifference, while their divisions and cavils among themselves, have disgusted the public.

Whether the feeling which exists, has arisen out of a mistaken opinion of the tendency of corporate powers and operations, or is the result of sound political principles, we are not prepared to say; but it is very certain, that if we have erred, it has been on the safe side.

No property is now taxed by the state, for state purposes, except land. For the purpose of taxation, lands have heretofore been divided into three classes; the first of which, were taxed two cents per acre, the second, one cent and a half per acre, and the third, one cent per acre. At the last session of the legislature, the third class was abolished; so that there are now but two classes of land, which are taxed as above stated.

The land tax is payable into the state treasury, on the *first* day of August, in each year. If not paid on or before that day, the land is advertised for sale, in one public newspaper; and is sold for taxes on the *first* day of January ensuing. The price for which

the land is sold at the tax sale, is, the amount which is due on it for taxes, with interest on the same, and the cost of advertising and sale. The owner may, at any time, within two years from the time of sale, redeem his land, by paying into the treasury *double* the amount for which it was sold; so that the purchaser gets back his money, with the addition of one hundred per cent.

The taxes of non-residents are paid into the state treasury and applied to state purposes; the land tax of resident land owners is paid into the treasuries of the respective counties, and applied to county purposes. The state government is, of course, supported solely by non-residents. This may seem strange, until it is explained. During the last war, the government of the United States agreed to give to each private soldier, who should enlist for the term of five years, and who should receive an honorable discharge, a bounty of one hundred and sixty acres of land. The tract of land lying in Illinois, between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and extending north one hundred and seventy miles from the confluence of those rivers, was appropriated for the discharge, in part, of these bounties. This tract contains more than five millions of acres, and was divided, like other lands of the United States, into quadrangular townships, sections, and quarter sections. In selecting the bounty lands, the surveyors were instructed to reject such tracts as might not be considered arable. In this country, where the land is generally fine, and scarcely any unfit for cultivation, the understanding of such

instructions would naturally be very vague, and the construction liberal. Accordingly, but twenty thousand warrants, each for one quarter section, or one hundred and sixty acres, were located, embracing only three millions two hundred thousand acres. The territory of Illinois was but little known at that time, and the discharged soldiers were, for the most part, improvident men, who preferred a sum in cash, however small, to any prospective advantage which might accrue to them from holding their lands. The bounty lands, therefore, soon fell into the hands of other persons, mostly residents of the eastern commercial cities. When Illinois became a state, and these lands were subjected to taxation, the owners, whether the original patentees, or purchasers under them, were careless about paying taxes on property which had cost little, and the ultimate value of which was considered extremely problematical. A vast portion of them, therefore, were annually sold for taxes; but this process, also, eventuated in throwing these lands into the hands of non-resident capitalists. Supposing the whole to be thus held, the annual revenue to the state, at one cent and a half an acre, would be forty-eight thousand dollars; about four thousand dollars of this sum may be deducted for the taxes of the inhabitants of the tract, leaving the sum of forty-four thousand dollars as the revenue of the state from military lands, owned by non-residents; to which may be added, a small sum, say five or six thousand dollars, receivable from non-resident owners of lands situated in other parts of the state; making the whole revenue about fifty thousand dollars. The

ordinary annual expenditures of the state government, are about thirty thousand dollars, leaving a surplus of twenty thousand dollars, at the disposal of the legislature. There being, therefore, no immediate necessity for raising money by taxation, from the inhabitants, and the constitution requiring that the taxes upon non-residents and residents should be the same, the legislature thought proper, instead of reducing the taxes, to give the portion paid by resident land owners, to the counties respectively.

No systematic plan of internal improvement has yet been adopted. Appropriations have been made at every session of the legislature, for building bridges, opening roads, and other public improvements. But the money thus distributed, has been divided into small sums, scattered over a wide surface, and expended upon temporary objects. The only work of magnitude which has been attempted, is the proposed canal to unite the Illinois river with lake Michigan, which, from recent indications, it would appear, is about to be abandoned, for the purpose of adopting the plan of a rail-road, or of changing the direction.

In relation to the sale of public land, by the United States, it is natural that the legislatures of the new states, in which those lands are situated, should interfere, and that there should be many opinions. Private holders of property differ widely in their estimation of its value. The seller and the buyer often adopt different standards of valuation; and it would be strange indeed, if there should not be various theories in relation to the public domain. We are,

moreover, a very wise nation, and not at all disposed to concede, that all the good sense and ingenuity of the Union, is concentrated in the little collection of great men who assemble on the floor of congress; and we indulge a benevolent propensity, which is not peculiar to the west, but pervades the nation, of contributing a portion annually, of our own knowledge to the public stock, in the shape of resolutions, memorials, and instructions. The greatest objection to these popular instructions is, that they are not always consistent with each other; and that even the same set of men, at the same session of a legislature, sometimes recommend conflicting measures. The legislature of Illinois, as well as those of the other new states, have sanctioned, by their resolutions, almost all the propositions which have been made in congress, for important changes in the system of land sales; and the subject is one, the discussion of which, occupies more or less time at every session.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONCLUSION.

We have been obliged to pass over an interesting portion of the history of this region, which would have occupied a larger space than we could afford to devote to it, and at which we shall now only glance, in such a manner, as to invite attention to it, and enable those who may be disposed to pursue the subject, to take up the thread of the narrative.

As the settlements continued to extend towards the west, and new states to be founded beyond Kentucky and Ohio, the same difficulties and dangers which we have described—a little varied in character, but equally formidable—assailed the footsteps of the pioneers, who still bravely pressed forward, followed by the helpless but undaunted companions of all their vicissitudes, their wives and children. Year after year rolled on, producing little change in the aspect of the frontier, except that the scene of toil and conflict was rapidly moving farther and farther to the west, carrying with it war, and leaving behind it security. As the wave swept on, the calm succeeded, the traces of the tempest were obliterated, civil institutions sprung up, and grew with the amazing celerity and vigor, which marks the bursting forth of vegetation, when the genial warmth of spring succeeds the stormy blasts of winter.

Two events remain to be noticed, which are important to the history of this region, and have

totally changed its condition—the purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, and the late war with Great Britain. The first of these measures gave rise to much discussion, and was fiercely denounced by the opponents of the administration by which it was effected; but experience has proved its wisdom, and it may now be justly regarded, as second only, in its happy consequences, to the revolution which gave freedom to our country. It opened a market for the produce of the west, gave us free access to the ocean, and allayed those discontents, which had so long threatened the peace, perhaps the existence, of the Union. It left us without a boundary or a civilized neighbor, on the west, and deprived foreign nations of all excuse for tampering with the Indians who inhabit those wide regions. It presented a new, a wide, a boundless field, to the enterprising pioneer, and the industrious emigrant.

The war with Great Britain, which broke out in 1812, fell heavily upon the western settlements, but resulted in permanent advantages to this region. During the angry discussions with the British cabinet, which preceded that event, that government, anticipating a rupture, renewed, with more industry than ever, her intrigues with the Indian tribes residing on the borders of Ohio and Indiana. Among other instruments, she found in the daring Tecumseh, one who was admirably fitted by nature to second her designs. He was a man of splendid talents and great energy of character. He conceived the bold design of preventing the future extension of the American settlements, and perhaps of recovering the country

west of the mountains, by uniting all the Indian tribes against the Americans; and spent years in passing from tribe to tribe, exciting the prejudices and awakening the hatred of the red people. The prospect of a war between the two countries, induced the British agents to favor the designs of this intrepid adventurer; and accordingly, we find, that during a few years immediately preceding that war, the hostilities of the Indians had become more frequent and audacious than ever.

General Harrison, a distinguished soldier, a gentleman of high spirit, and great vigor of mind, who was now governor of the Indiana territory, found full employment for all his talents and prudence, in guarding against the designs of Tecumseh. We cannot attempt even an outline of the negociations, the intrigues, and the manœuvres, which followed in rapid succession, during several years of apparent peace, but of actual war, between the American people on the frontier, on one side, and the Indians, directed by British officers, on the other. The government of the United States, had resolved to win the friendship of the Indians, by kindness and forbearance, and to allure them, if possible, to practice the arts of civilization. The territorial governors were instructed accordingly; and while a scene of active depredation was acting along the whole frontier—while the tomahawk was drenched in gore, and the conflagration of the settler's cabin continued to be perpetrated, the President of the United States was writing to General Harrison to preserve peace, to use the arts of persuasion, and to avoid hostilities as long

as possible. This policy, though generous, and resulting from the noblest spirit of philanthropy, was mistaken. It sacrificed the lives of our citizens, and rendered the savage more audacious.

Council after council was held; in each of which the conduct of the Indians became more equivocal; at one, it was friendly; at another, evasive; at a third, insolent; at one moment they begged for peace; at another, threatened war. At last, the collection of a large force by Tecumseh, induced the government to place a military force under the orders of General Harrison, who moved with promptness, but with consummate prudence, into the Indian country. A bold and admirably planned attempt was made to surprise his camp, which was completely defeated by the coolness of the troops, and the admirable precautions of their distinguished leader. The engagement which took place on this occasion, is known as the battle of Tippecanoe; and we hesitate not to say, that on no occasion, have the arms of our country been more skillfully directed, or the honor of her flag more successfully vindicated.

During the years of 1812, '13, and '14, the whole line of frontier was exposed to the ravages of the British and Indians; and it was nobly defended. In no part of the United States, was the government sustained with more promptitude and cheerfulness, than in the west—the weakest section of the Union. A call for troops, was never made in vain, to the western people. The successes of Jackson and Harrison are well known. Peculiar circumstances have thrown a halo of glory around the name of the former, which

has obscured the merits of the latter; but in history, the brilliant achievements of these gallant leaders will stand together, and demand an equal tribute of applause from a grateful country.

It is enough to say, that since that period, the frontier has been at peace, with the exception of a few slight and unimportant disturbances, which have been rapidly quelled. The Indians have learned to feel our power, and their own weakness; and our fellow citizens, who are settled on the utmost verge of the population, feel now no alarm from the proximity of their savage neighbors.

We shall push these historical inquiries no farther. Our object has been to suggest the leading topics of interest, in western history, for the benefit of such as might feel disposed to engage in more extensive researches, in this delightful field. To all such, we say, that it will amply reward them. It is the history of a hardy and gallant people, struggling in the infancy of their political institutions, against adversity, gloom, and danger; displaying throughout the whole, the noblest traits of courage, prudence, and humanity, and finally achieving the most brilliant success that has ever crowned the exertion of persevering enterprise.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.